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ABSTRACT

This course, one of 16 sequential courses comprising phase one of a part-time Bachelor of Arts degree program in Australian Studies, analyses how versions of the past are maintained through rituals and ceremonies, and through institutions such as schools and museums. It further develops the notion of identity, particularly as it applies to aboriginal and ethnic groups in Australia that maintain a sense of traditional identity. This course is designed for independent study combined with tutorial sessions. Chapter 1 is an introduction to the course and its study objectives. Chapter 2 covers multiculturalism and new relations between ethnic groups in Australia. Chapter 3 focuses on Italo-Australians and aborigines. Chapters 4 and 5 discuss tradition as a topic of inquiry and the concept of an institution. Chapter 6 considers ethnic institutions and organizations, specifically the Italian and Greek communities. Chapter 7 discusses rituals and ceremonies as the vehicles of tradition. Materials for three tutorial sessions cover self-assessment questions, problems with the course, and essay writing. Lists of required readings, additional readings, a bibliography, and self-assessment questions are also included. (IS)

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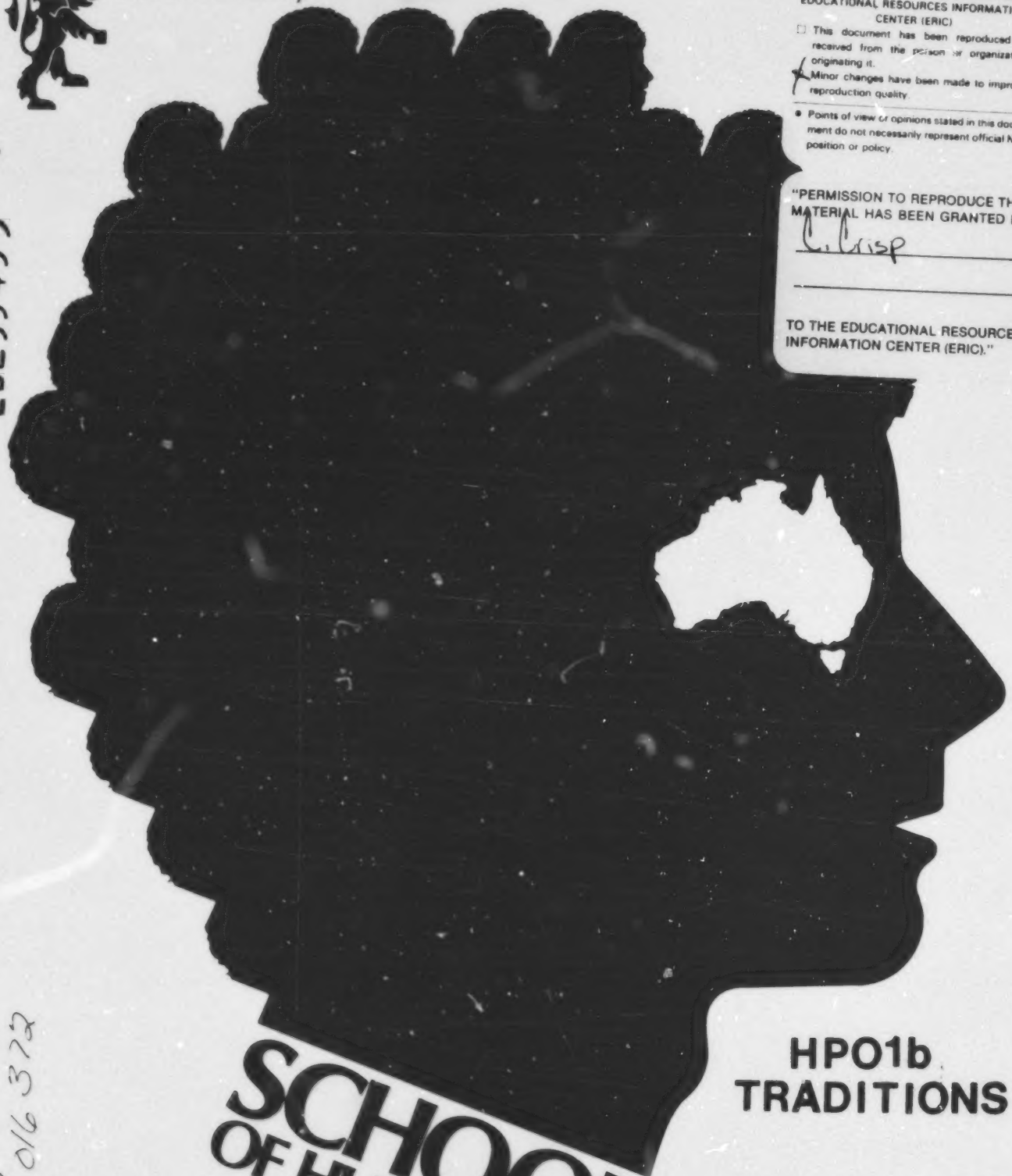

SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES

HP01b
TRADITIONS

PART TIME BA DEGREE

GRIFFITH UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES

PART-TIME BA DEGREE PROGRAMME

COURSE HP01b

TRADITIONS

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Acknowledgement

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COURSE INFORMATION: HP01b

Course readings

For this course you need to buy 2 texts, both available in the University bookshop:

Robert Brain, *Rites Black and White* (Penguin 1979) ($3.95)

William G. Coppell, *Australia in Figures* (Penguin 1981) ($7.95)

The text by Brain is of particular concern to this course only. Coppell is a very handy book of statistics on Australian society and will provide relevant information for several courses in Phase 1: it also exhibits different ways of presenting statistical data, a topic which is discussed in Course HP02b, *Urban Australia*. Keep Coppell for use in that course.

In addition there are 33 readings, varying in length from a paragraph to 20 pages, which accompany the study guide in the course package. The readings are individually numbered (there is an index on pp.3 and 4 of the guide) and grouped together under different coloured frontispieces. Each group of readings corresponds to a section or sub-section of the course, so you should be able to find your way around easily. It is very important that you follow closely the instructions in the study guide on when to read and re-read the readings. In that way the point of each reading, and its relation to the others, will be as clear as possible. Most readings are excerpts from texts: in every case full details of the source from which the extract was taken are provided so that if you want to follow up a particularly interesting piece, you will be able to find it in a library. All of these sources (books, journals, newspapers, pamphlets etc.) are available in the Griffith University Library, either on the open shelves or on microfilm. A short list of further reading can be found at the end of the study guide, purely for your own interest. You do not need to read anything beyond the contents of the course package and the two set texts to handle the assessment successfully.

Tutorial activities

The three tutorial activities can be found on pp. 29, 47 and 69 of the study guide. The tutorials are directly tied to your progress through the study guide and readings and serve several purposes:

1. to provide assistance on the most effective ways to work through the course materials and thus help you in what is probably a novel form of study

2. to sort out any difficulties you may come across in particular readings

3. to grasp the connections between the readings more clearly

4. to practise how to build up a coherent argument in writing.

Each tutorial is tied to a Self-Assessment Question (SAQ) or to issues raised by the course readings. It is therefore important that you give some thought to the SAQ or those issues before the tutorial, preferably taking some brief notes. You may also be asked to bring a reading or course text with you, to serve as the basis for further discussion. If you can't manage to attend, or feel confident that you have mastered the major points in that section of the study guide and readings, the answers to the SAQs at the end of the guide will still provide a useful check on your progress.

Assessment

Course HP01b will be assessed by completion of three short essays, selected from a list of four topics. Details of the topics, and instructions on how to complete the assessment, are included with the course package. You should also bear in mind the recommended rates of progress for completing this course.

LIST OF READINGS

Readings are numbered in order of use, and aggregated according to the section of the study guide in which they first appear.

(Note: This list does not include readings from the purchased text books).

Section 2 (pink cover)

Reading 1. Jean Martin, *The Ethnic Dimension* (excerpts)

Reading 2. APIC & AEAC, *Multiculturalism and its Implications for Immigration Policy* (excerpts)

Reading 3. Fay Gale and Alison Brookman: *Race Relations in Australia - The Aborigines* (excerpt)

Reading 4. Jean Martin, *The Migrant Presence* (excerpt)

Reading 5. 'Problems of giving effect to Aboriginal customary laws', *The Australian Law Journal* (excerpt)

Section 3 (cream cover)

Reading 6. Lidio Bertelli, 'Where to, the Italo-Australians?' (excerpts)

Reading 7. Charles Rowley, 'Who is an Aboriginal? The answers in 1967' (excerpts)

Reading 8. Colin Tatz, 'Who is an Aborigine?' (excerpts)

Reading 9. Charles Perkins and E.J. Smith, Exchange of letters.

Reading 10. Nicholas Peterson (ed.), *Aboriginal Land Rights: A Handbook* (excerpts)

Reading 11. Australia. Aboriginal Land Commissioner, *Finniss River Land Claim* (excerpts)

Reading 12. Australia. Aboriginal Land Commissioner, *Claim by the Warlpiri and Kartangarurru-Kurintji* (excerpts)

Section 4 (yellow cover)

Reading 13. Edward Shils, *Tradition* (excerpts)

Reading 14. Pierre Bourdieu, 'The thinkable and the unthinkable' (excerpt)

Reading 15. John Goody and Ian Watt, 'The consequences of literacy' (excerpts)

Reading 16. John Goody, *The Domestication of the Savage Mind* (excerpts)

Reading 17. Thomas Kuhn, *The Essential Tension* (excerpts)

Section 5 (blue cover)

Reading 18. Pierre Bourdieu, 'Cultural reproduction and social reproduction' (excerpts) (2 copies)
----: 'Systems of education and systems of thought' (excerpts) (2 copies)

Reading 19. John Kennett, 'The sociology of Pierre Bourdieu' (excerpts)

Section 6 (mauve cover)

Reading 20. Paolo Totaro, 'Maintenance and transmission of Italian culture in Australia' (excerpts)

Reading 21. Rina Huber, *From Pasta to Pavlova* (excerpts)

Reading 22. Gillian Bottomley, *After the Odyssey. A Study of Greek Australians* (excerpts)

Section 7 (orange cover)

Reading 23. Sally Moore and Barbara Myerhoff, 'Secular ritual: forms and meanings' (excerpts)

Reading 24. Arnold Van Gennep, *Rites of Passage* (excerpts)

Reading 25. David Pocock, *Understanding Social Anthropology* (excerpts)

Reading 26. W.E.H. Stanner, 'Aborigines and Australian society'

Reading 27. John Carroll, 'National identity' (excerpts)

Reading 28. Maurice French, 'The ambiguity of Empire Day in New South Wales 1901-1921' (excerpts)

Reading 29. Bessie Bessant, 'Empire Day, Anzac Day, the flag ceremony and all that' (excerpts)

Reading 30. 'War Cry!', *Women's News Service* (excerpts)

Reading 31. Orlando Patterson, 'The cricket ritual in the West Indies'

Reading 32. Leonie Sandercock and Ian Turner, *Up Where, Cazaly?* (excerpt)

Reading 33. Keith Dunstan, 'The cricket passion' (excerpts)

PRELIMINARY EXERCISE

Before starting on the study guide, run quickly through the following statements, putting a tick in the appropriate column. The idea is to get you thinking about some of the issues raised by the course. By the end you may or may not want to change your answers, but at least you should be able to provide stronger arguments in favour of or against what you have written.

	True	False	Not Sure
1. The Aboriginal population is declining.			
2. There are more Italians than Greeks in Australia.			
3. Tradition holds up social progress.			
4. 'Institution' always refers to a place.			
5. Once something has become a ritual, then it is no longer important to us.			
6. Every proper Australian must at least be able to speak English.			

1 INTRODUCTION TO THE COURSE AND ITS STUDY OBJECTIVES

In the course you have just completed, *Defining Australia*, the principal concern was the search for a distinctive 'Australian' identity. Among the questions considered were: What special characteristics of 'Australian-ness' have been suggested? How far have these characteristics changed or remained constant? Why has the search for a single Australian identity been an urgent one? Is there a real identity waiting to be discovered or only a succession of images invented by different groups in Australian society? Some of the debates you examined invoked different key dates or historical periods when the principal features of the 'real' Australian identity (whatever they were thought to be) were formed and could first be recognised. This close relation between the present and the past - between what Australians share today and what a previous generation achieved or experienced - is a principal feature of what we call 'tradition'.

However the materials and examples that were considered in Course HP01a were all drawn from one group in Australian society - the White Australians whose origins, immediate or distant, lie in the societies of northern Europe (mainly the UK and Ireland) and who represent the dominant group, in almost every sense, in contemporary Australia. The events mentioned (e.g. Australia Day), the people discussed (e.g. the bushmen) and the intellectuals whose disputes about the 'real' meaning of Australia provided most of the course content (e.g. Manning Clark) are all associated with the numerically, politically and culturally dominant group. Further features - in particular the development of the bush mythology and its legends - will be examined in Course HP02a, *The Bush Legend*. Sandwiched in this course, by contrast, are some materials concerning other groups in Australia today - the so-called 'ethnic' groups, in particular the Italians and Greeks, and the Aborigines.

'Ethnic' is not in fact a very satisfactory term to describe the southern European groups, partly because its meaning is rather vague (it sometimes includes and sometimes excludes the Aborigines, as one of the readings points out) and partly because the white Anglo-Celt Australians themselves constitute an ethnic group, though one which happens to be large and powerful. However the term 'ethnic' is now widely used by governments and academics to designate groups such as the Italians and Greeks, and you will therefore find it in both the readings and the study guide; nevertheless, Aborigines will always be distinguished as Aborigines.

All of these minority groups are commonly said to possess and to wish to maintain traditions which distinguish them from the white Anglo-Celt majority and from one another. It is this notion of tradition which is the focus of the course. We shall not be much concerned with what the actual content of each group's traditions might be but

rather with the social importance of traditions and the ways in which they are maintained. In other words, we will not discuss, let's say, what Italians in Australia think about the family or Aborigines about the land: what we will be examining is just how such ideas and practices are kept alive so that the people who hold those ideas or engage in those practices make up what they and outsiders recognise to be a distinctive community in Australia. The mechanisms rather than the content of traditions in Australia provide our topic of enquiry.

The course can be roughly divided into 4 parts:

a. the change in official attitudes towards ethnic and Aboriginal traditions

b. the problems in defining the membership of ethnic and Aboriginal populations

c. an analysis of the term 'tradition' and the issues raised for further enquiry

d. a review of the principal mechanisms for maintaining traditions, with particular attention to the institutions and rituals specifically designed for that purpose.

In working through the study guide and readings in the four areas, you should be able to address the following points and thus fulfil the course objectives:

- why the study of how people classify themselves and others in certain ways is important and how particular classifications can have immediate practical consequences

- what factors should be taken into account when analysing social identity and how social identity depends on both self-identification and recognition by others

- how the maintenance of traditions making up a multicultural society necessarily involves conflicts over what is to be maintained and what forgotten.

2. MULTICULTURALISM: NEW RELATIONS BETWEEN ETHNIC GROUPS IN AUSTRALIA?

In July 1982 the Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs held a series of public meetings around Australia, called national consultations, on the theme 'Multiculturalism and Australian Citizenship'. His declared aim was to provide a forum in which people could put their views on those issues directly to the minister and politicians from different parties. In Brisbane about 400 people attended the meeting which the organisers reckoned a success, given - so they said - 'the Queensland reputation for apathy'! Certainly not apathetic, however, was a small and noisy group from the Progressive Nationalist Party (PNP), who spent the discussion time voicing opposition to all (and especially non-European) immigration, insisting on a policy of 'racial purity' and demanding a national referendum on such topics. Others in the audience expressed surprise that such vehement opposition to immigration and migrants still existed - the open hostility seemed very much a throwback to times now past and unlikely to return. Nevertheless, when faced by strong opposition, the advocates of multiculturalism have on occasion found it harder to state precisely what they are in favour of than their opponents (such as the PNP) to declare what they are against.

Identifying the exact meaning and content of 'multiculturalism' as a guide to government action is by no means simple. First, the term has been adopted only recently as the name for government policy and its practical implications have not yet been thoroughly examined. Second, the very nature of the multicultural task - defined in the national consultations as the building of a 'culturally diverse and socially cohesive Australia' - contains a range of highly contentious questions. Should all migrants' traditions be recognised as worth maintaining? What about customs which violate the law? How much public money should be given to supporting ethnic activities and organisations? Should the ethnic or Aboriginal poor receive special subsidies beyond those provided for White Australian poor? Should everyone wanting to settle permanently in Australia be required to speak English? And so on. It is not surprising that at this stage it is easier to ask such questions than to provide satisfactory answers.

One approach to the meaning of 'multiculturalism' is illustrated in reading 1. It is taken from a submission made to the Australian Ethnic Communities Council by Jean Martin and provides the material for the first SAQ.

SAQ 1

Each of the 5 paragraphs in Martin's submission is built around a different point about multiculturalism. Write down, using a single sentence for each paragraph, what you take to be the 5 central points. For example, you might begin with something like:

Para 1. Multiculturalism means the existence of patterns of ideas, called ethnic cultures, to be found in separate communities.

Para 2. .....

Some of the points made in the 5 paragraphs deserve more detailed examination and we will pursue these in further readings and in the course text, *Australia in Figures* (William Coppell). The following 5 issues will be tackled: the establishment of ethnic communities in Australia; the relations between dominant and minority cultures; some problems in recognising traditions; responsibilities in implementing multicultural policy; and the role of ethnic organisations.

The establishment of ethnic communities in Australia

In her first paragraph Jean Martin points out that the different ethnic communities and their ways of life have been established in Australia in different historical periods. Since the beginning of this century, there have in fact been considerable variations over time in the proportion of the population born overseas, the countries from which migrants have come and the ages and occupational skills of migrants. Putting together the detail of such variations makes a first step towards compiling a more substantial description of the place of different ethnic groups in Australian society and history. Much of the information can be presented accurately only in statistical form and we will therefore turn to *Australia in Figures*, in particular to pp.34-43. The following SAQ contains three questions on the features of ethnic communities just mentioned. If you feel your head spin at the very sight of a statistical table, don't worry too much at this stage or spend too much time on the SAQ. The special skills of interpreting statistics (or of learning how to lie with them, as the title of a well-known introductory text has it) will be examined in some detail in Course HP02b, *Urban Australia*.

SAQ 2

Complete the following questions, using *Australia in Figures* as indicated.

1. 'The Australian-born made up a greater proportion of the population in 1976 than in 1901.' Using the information provided on p.36, say whether this is True or False.

2. Using the three tables at the top of p.41, identify the different regions of the world from which most non-UK (and non-NZ) migrants came in the years 1959-60, 1964-65 and 1977-78.

3. Looking first at the bottom three rows of the table on the ages of arrivals (p.41), what continuing trends, if any, can be detected in the ages of immigrants?

The tables you have just examined suggest the following description of the formation of ethnic communities in Australia:

- Since the beginning of the century, the proportion of overseas-born in the population of Australia has fluctuated between 15 percent and 25 percent; that is, between one in seven and one in four inhabitants of Australia at any one time were born overseas. Today the figure is roughly one in five, a very much greater proportion of overseas-born than in any other advanced industrial society, even the USA or West Germany which have relied heavily on the immigration of foreign workers and their families. The questions of national identity and citizenship, addressed under the rubric 'multicultural-ism', gain their importance in the light of the composition of the population.

- While throughout this century the UK (and New Zealand) has been the largest single source of migrants, the pattern of post-1945 migration from other countries falls roughly into 3 periods. From 1945-1954 the principal area of origin of migrants is northern Europe (Germany, Holland); from 1955-74 the Mediterranean countries (Italy, Greece, Yugoslavia) provide substantial numbers of migrants; and from 1975 onwards South-East Asia (Indonesia, Malaysia, Vietnam) has been a primary source of arrivals, many of whom came as refugees (Coppell, p.40).

- The steady increase in the proportion of arrivals aged 50 and over points to a recent feature of immigration. The age of those arrivals suggests that they are in many

cases the parents or older relations of migrants who are already in Australia and have decided to stay here permanently. Rather than return to their kin in the country of origin, the earlier migrants bring their kin to Australia. In the 1950s the rate of return home by migrants was extremely high (perhaps as high as one in four). Today, however, the pattern indicates the determination of increasing numbers of migrants to settle here permanently, a pattern which produces a more stable and enduring set of ethnic communities in Australia. The continuing fall in the number of settlers departing supports this description (Coppell, p.35).

- Finally, alongside the details on ethnic communities in Australia, we can note the steady population increase of another minority group, the Aborigines (Coppell, p.28). As these figures indicate, the Aboriginal population is reckoned to have doubled between 1961 and 1971, from 79,300 to 160,900.

In the light of the recent trends in immigration and settlement, therefore, the policy of 'multiculturalism' in the 1970s begins in part to look like a response to the increase in size of minority groups, to their growing diversity, and to their members' growing commitment to staying permanently in Australia.

Relations between dominant and minority cultures

In reading 2, Jean Martin points out in her second paragraph that it is not sufficient simply to acknowledge that there are different ethnic groups and cultures in societies like Australia. It is crucial to emphasise that one culture and group is always dominant and the others subordinate. The evidence of the last section has shown the continuing numerical dominance of White Anglo-Celt Australians, and examination of another table in Coppell will illustrate a further aspect of that group's dominance. Look at the table on p.38, which sets out the occupational skills of male settlers in Australia for the two periods 1949-51 and 1967-68. The dates are rather awkwardly placed in the table, and unfortunately only one country, Yugoslavia, is represented in both periods. Nevertheless, the overall picture these figures give is clear. The 4 columns (professions, skilled crafts, semi-skilled, unskilled) contain the proportion of settlers from different countries entering Australia with the different occupational qualifications. Look in particular at the data on settlers from the USA and from the countries in the rows below it (each row reads horizontally, and the figures add up to 100%; columns read vertically). The majority of settlers from the USA, New Zealand and the UK belonged in the better-paid and more prestigious categories, 'professions' and 'skilled crafts' (68.2 percent for the USA etc.), and only a very few in the lowest-paid and least-prestigious 'unskilled' column. Exactly the opposite distribution can

be found among Italians, Greeks and Yugoslavs: at least half the migrants from those three countries fell into the bottom category and only a tiny minority into the 'professions' category. Since the distribution for Yugoslavs is given for both 1949-51 and 1967-68, you might compare the two sets of figures - is there any general trend in the period 1949-1968 in the kinds of positions in Australian society occupied by Yugoslav migrants?

If the figures for 1949-51 and 1967-68 are typical of the whole postwar period (and without further information we shouldn't just assume that they are), then the numerical dominance of Anglo-Celt Australians is clearly paralleled by their economic dominance. Migrants from those cultures enter the better-paid occupations which are already dominated by members of their own ethnic groups: migrants from eastern Europe and the Mediterranean countries (and refugees from S.E. Asia) enter Australian society at or near the bottom of the occupational hierarchy. In addition the better-qualified non-English speaking migrants find it hard to get their qualifications recognised or to find jobs appropriate to their skills: they are therefore compelled to accept poorer jobs than they could expect in their countries of origin.

Given that ethnic groups and cultures are very unequally placed in Australian society, what models have been put forward for the establishment of relations between the dominant host groups and subordinate migrant groups? As we have seen, the most recent model for relations is 'multiculturalism', but it has only recently replaced the previous models. Brief accounts of past views on the right kind of relation between host and migrant groups are contained in the second part of the APIC-AEAC extract (R2:5-8): details of the similar models governing White Australian-Aboriginal relations are provided in reading 3 by Gale and Brookman. Read the two pieces now to complete the following SAQ:

SAQ 3

Summarise (in note form and not more than 50 words) the differences between ASSIMILATION and MULTICULTURALISM.

Changes in official policy towards minority groups in Australia have been matched by changes in the terms used to refer to those groups. The shifts in terminology have been neatly described in reading 4, taken from Jean Martin's *The Migrant Presence*. As you read it now, observe how the two definitions 'migrant' and 'ethnic' mark two quite distinct views of the place of foreigners in Australian society.

Through that example of the relation between changes in definition and changes in social attitudes and behaviour,

Martin is pointing towards the general importance of studying how people and institutions use language. Clearly language is central to society: without the possibility of talking and listening to talk, we would be deprived of our normal way of communicating with others and could scarcely form a society at all. Aspects of the role of language in society are particularly addressed in Course HP06a, *Language and Society*, but many examples of its centrality will come up before then. Later in this course (section 3.2) we will come across the view that the very words used to describe Aborigines need to be changed as a prerequisite if the treatment of Aborigines by government and the white population is to alter; and one of the readings on tradition suggests that language is the place where some of our key social distinctions are preserved.

Problems in recognising minority group traditions

Behaviour and beliefs differ from one society to another. Some actions which migrants approved of and were accustomed to performing in their home society cannot therefore be easily transferred to Australia: they may constitute breaches of Australian law as well as provoking various degrees of social disapproval, from active opposition to the raised eyebrow or gossipy comment. Official support for all minority group customs cannot simply be given without consideration of how those customs stand in relation to Australian law. In her third paragraph Jean Martin gives an example of the limits of recognition for ethnic traditions. Further difficulties for ethnic groups are mentioned in the first part of the APIC-AEAC report (R2:1-5) and for Aboriginal customs in the summary of a talk by the Chairman of the Law Reform Commission, Mr Justice Kirby (reading 5).

SAQ 4

1. In the APIC-AEAC report (R2:2) religious differences are identified as a particularly significant source of potential conflict. Why should they be?

2. Mr Justice Kirby mentions 4 features of Aboriginal laws which make it difficult for them to be given effect in contemporary Australia. In single sentence answers only give a reason why each feature presents a difficulty.

So there are boundaries to the possible recognition of ethnic traditions, the clearest boundary being simply the law which is intended to apply impartially to all inhabitants of Australia (and visitors, too, of course). Actions which settlers from other societies regard as normal or desirable cannot necessarily be accommodated here. In her discussion Jean Martin introduces the useful term norm

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which in social science usage may in fact carry one of those two different senses - 'normal' or 'desirable'. In the first sense 'norm' simply means something which is normal or usual in a particular society, as in the sentence: The norm of car-ownership in Australia is for each family to have one car. In the second sense a norm indicates something which ought to be done, an ideal or a standard to which people should conform, as in the sentence: People regard politeness to strangers as a norm. In which sense is Jean Martin using the term in the third paragraph of reading 1?

Responsibilities in implementing multicultural policy

All sorts of highminded pronouncements about the need to promote multiculturalism have been made. But, as Martin observes in her fourth paragraph, they are virtually useless without some indication of who has the legal and financial responsibility to act in the various fields of education, welfare, etc. Some of the advantages in turning over particular responsibilities for welfare to the ethnic groups themselves are mentioned in the APIC-AEAC excerpt, R2:4-5.

SAQ 5

Why do you think that 'many immigrants prefer to consult their own welfare agencies' (R2:4)?

The attribution of responsibility for specific tasks to ethnic groups themselves requires the creation and recognition of ethnic organisations. Organisations have to be set up in order to negotiate with government and 'mainstream institutions', and only through some form of organisation can whole ethnic groups formulate their needs and aims and communicate with other groups.

The role of ethnic organisations

The issue of ethnic organisations and their tasks is addressed in Martin's fifth paragraph and at various places in the APIC-AEAC report. Both the advantages and disadvantages of encouraging ethnic groups to create their own organisation in various fields are discussed, and they form the basis of the next SAQ.

SAQ 6

1. What does the APIC-AEAC report see as the possible dangers of 'structural pluralism'?

2. Why, according to Jean Martin, does cultural pluralism depend on structural pluralism?

As you will have noticed, Jean Martin makes an explicit connection between the establishment of ethnic organisations and the maintenance of ethnic traditions. That link will be examined in greater detail in section 6 below, with some empirical examples from the Italian and Greek communities in Australia. Next, however, we will take up the question, entailed by an active policy of multiculturalism, of the allocation of public funds to ethnic groups and their organisations.

3 COUNTING THE MEMBERS OF ETHNIC AND ABORIGINAL COMMUNITIES

Once the idea is accepted of granting resources to ethnic communities for welfare, schooling and cultural programmes and activities, then the issues listed on pp.3-4 of the APIC-AEAC report are raised: what programmes to support; how much support to give; how to determine the relative needs of particular groups; and so on. Presumably the principal pieces of information required for any sort of decision-making here are the two noted by the report: size of the group and degree of need. Let's consider the first more closely.

Below is a table with 3 figures for the number of Aborigines, Italian-Australians (normally referred to as 'Italo-Australians') and Greek Australians in 1976 at the time of the national census. Ring the figure that you think is correct.

Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders	85,000	123,000	160,000
Italo-Australians	110,000	280,000	495,000
Greek Australians	152,000	212,000	450,000

Now reflect for a moment on how you arrived at your answers. Were they pure guesses? Or did you consider possible differences in defining 'Aborigines', 'Italo-Australians' and 'Greek Australians' and then try to estimate the likely number of people covered by any particular definition? Would it make any difference which definition was used? Before turning over the page, make a list, in the space below, of the features to be taken into account when classifying someone as, say, an 'Italo-Australian'.

When you have made the list, consider which features are likely to have been used in the 1976 census. Would you now want to revise your original guess upwards or downwards?

3.1 Defining Italo-Australians

In fact, as in all the figures on p.36 of Coppell, the census used birthplace as the criterion for calculating the numbers of 'Italians' and 'Greeks' in Australia (we'll deal with Aborigines in the next section: the official figure for

the Aboriginal population is given in Coppell, p.28). By that criterion there are 280,000 Italians and 152,000 Greeks in Australia. But of course there are many other factors which could be taken into account when estimating the size of the Italian community in Australia, and your list will almost certainly contain some or all of the following criteria. An Italo-Australian might be someone who:

1. lives in Australia but was born in Italy

2. has or had at least one parent who was born in Italy

3. is the child of an Italian citizen (who need not have been born in Italy)

4. is an Italian citizen (i.e., holds an Italian passport)

5. has at least one of the above characteristics and can understand, speak or write Italian (not necessarily all three)

6. thinks of himself or herself as an Italo-Australian

7. is thought of by others as an Italo-Australian.

These criteria - birth (1,2), nationality (3,4), language (5) and identification by oneself or others (6,7) - are the major ways of defining ethnic groups. The criteria can be used either singly or, more commonly, in combination. However a moment's reflection will show you that the same set of people do not fit neatly inside or outside the category 'Italo-Australian' on all these criteria: those who count as Italo-Australians by one feature may not do so in terms of another. For example, not everyone born in Italy but now living in Australia still holds an Italian passport since he or she may have become a nationalised Australian citizen (Coppell indicates the number of overseas-born who have become Australian citizens in various periods on pp.42-43). Likewise, not everyone who has at least one Italian-born parent can speak, write or understand Italian. It may therefore make a big difference which criteria we use from the list above to define membership of the Italo-Australian community in Australia. Just how big a difference?

Well, we can give one example by comparing the consequences of defining the Italo-Australian community in terms of parentage plus ability to speak Italian as against parentage alone. Look first at Table 3 in reading 6 (the excerpt from Lidio Bertelli's 'Where to, the Italo-Australians?' p.1), which sets out in the right hand column the numbers of people who had at least one Italian-born parent in 1976. Then look at the figure given by Coppell (p.36) on the numbers of those who could speak Italian in 1976, and complete the following SAQ.

SAQ 7

1. How big is the difference between the Italo-Australian community defined in terms of birth plus language and defined in terms of birth alone (up to the second generation)?

2. What factors are likely to determine whether the number of Italo-Australians who speak Italian gets larger or smaller in the future? You should read the Bertelli excerpt for some suggestions and re-read fairly quickly pp.5-7 of the APIC-AEAC report.

As you can see, the decision to use different criteria for being 'Italo-Australian' is important because it will make a considerable difference to the size of the community and therefore to any calculations of the range and quantity of resources needed by that community. What seemed like a simple measuring exercise to establish the size of the community as a basis for multicultural policy (APIC-AEAC report, R2:3) turns out to involve a set of problems about deciding who counts as a member of the community. Note Bertelli's distinction (R6:1) between the 'core' and 'real' community of Italo-Australians and the considerable difference in the numbers of each. Very similar issues arise in the definition of the other ethnic groups in Australia and the classification of persons as members of such groups.

Two general points can be extracted from Lidio Bertelli's discussion, both of which concern the contexts in which these definitions and classifications are used. First, Bertelli shows on p.1 how different academic disciplines may define populations or communities differently according to their separate intellectual interests. Demography - the science of populations - will involve the classification of individuals by birth so that there can be 'full', 'half', 'one-quarter' Italo-Australians and so on. (This approach coincides with the racial definitions of Aborigines, to be discussed in the next set of readings.) By contrast, the social sciences (i.e., the disciplines represented in half of this degree programme) are concerned with the quite different ways of defining the Italo-Australian community listed by Bertelli. Note the final criterion in his list - 'whether they really behave as Italo-Australians'. In order to be able to behave as Italo-Australians (and to ensure that other people treat them as Italo-Australians) people have to know which pieces of behaviour are specifically 'Italian' - by adopting this behaviour they can then affirm their identity as Italians and get others to recognise them as such. If for the moment we call these pieces of behaviour 'traditions', then we can see how they have a double aspect. On the one hand, these

traditions are important in showing the children and grandchildren from families of Italian origin how to behave as Italo-Australians, how to maintain (or of course to refuse) the Italian part of their identity. On the other hand, traditions serve to show outsiders what sort of behaviour is considered distinctively 'Italian' and therefore how to recognise and classify those who follow this behaviour as members of the Italian community. The maintenance of a distinctive Italian community is therefore closely tied in both these ways to the maintenance of Italian traditions. The double aspect of traditions will be emphasised at several points in the course.

Second, although Bertelli does not mention it here, there is an important political aspect to the use of definitions and to the decision to classify people in one way rather than another. Considerable political play can be made with the large differences in estimates of the size of ethnic communities depending on which criteria for membership are used. For example, anyone who saw immigration and multiculturalism as a grave threat to Australian society, and wanted to say so publicly (like the Progressive Nationalist Party mentioned earlier), would probably tend to use the definition which produced the largest figure for the size of an ethnic community in order to suggest the increasingly large and perhaps threatening place that ethnic community had come to occupy in Australia. Others, who wanted to emphasise the absence of any problems might use a definition which produced a smaller figure. The political implications of the tactic of choosing one kind of definition, one way of classifying individuals and groups, rather than another will come up very clearly in the following section.

3.2 Defining Aborigines

The place of Aborigines in Australian society is obviously distinct from that occupied by Italian, Greek and other migrant populations. Indeed the obligation to respect the differences (historical, cultural, and economic) between Aboriginal and ethnic groups in their relations with the dominant Anglo-Celt majority is stressed in the excerpt by Colin Tatz to be read shortly.

SAQ 8

List some of the differences between the Aborigines and ethnic groups which you think are likely to affect, or have affected, their relations with the majority in Australia.

For the reasons given in the answer to SAQ 8 the history of defining, classifying and counting Aborigines has been

distinctive, not least because - as the APIC-AEAC report mentions (R2:2) - the position of Aborigines has been more closely regulated by law than that of other minority groups: special provisions have been established in law for Aborigines, and we shall examine a well-known recent case, Land Rights, in the following section. The readings for the present section therefore indicate some aspects of the distinctive position occupied by Aborigines: in reading 7, Charles Rowley mentions some of the historical features of the classification of Aborigines, while in reading 8 Colin Tatz emphasises the social consequences of using particular definitions. Before you turn to these excerpts, let me briefly introduce them and indicate some points to watch out for when you read them.

The two readings carry near-identical titles - 'Who is an Aboriginal?' (Rowley) and 'Who is an Aborigine?' (Tatz) - but they approach the question in rather different ways. One reason for this difference may be that Rowley is a professor of anthropology and Tatz a professor of political science (an example of the different disciplinary focus mentioned by Bertelli). Another reason lies in the dates when the two pieces were written. Rowley was writing in 1967 before the idea of multiculturalism (and the notion that minority groups could organise to work out their own definitions of themselves and their history) had begun to replace assimilation. Tatz, on the other hand, was writing in 1980 after several years of organisation and activism by ethnic and Aboriginal groups, and he takes a very much broader perspective on how a group, of whatever kind, is to be defined. He takes for granted that Aborigines must define themselves (rather than having non-Aborigines' definitions, legal or academic, with good or bad intentions, thrust upon them) and then examines some of the ways of devising an adequate definition. Rowley focusses more narrowly on the often bizarre consequences of the attempts by federal and state governments to define Aborigines in law using the kinds of distinctions offered by demographers as the basis for relations between Black and White.

Turn now to reading 7, by Rowley. Read it particularly for answers to the following 3 questions: perhaps a quick reading to get a general impression of the content, followed by two attentive readings for the answers to questions 1 and 2, would be a useful way of dealing with the excerpt.

SAQ 9

1. Why is a legal definition of 'Aborigine' necessary at all?

2. What are the various reasons mentioned by Rowley for the overwhelming importance given to colour as a sign of Aboriginality?

3. Rowley states that urbanisation (= movement to the cities) has had considerable effects on Aboriginal society (p.6). Can you think of what the effects might be and why urbanisation should cause them?

Colin Tatz includes the definition of Aborigines in terms of race ('the arithmetic of colour') among the much broader range of definitions of Aboriginality. We have already seen in the excerpt by Jean Martin (reading 4) that the terms or labels used to define groups may have significant implications: and Tatz begins by asserting the need for a new definition of Aboriginality which will help to alter the perceptions of Aborigines and therefore contribute towards improving their place in Australian society. After discussing the content and limitations of existing definitions for the kind of group Aborigines constitute (race, class, culture, religious or ethnic group, nation), he ends up by offering his own definition of Aboriginality and how it should be constructed and maintained. Read his article now, completing the following SAQ as you go along.

SAQ 10

1. What are Tatz's objections to seeing Aborigines as (a) a culture (b) a minority in a multicultural society (c) a nation?

2. According to Tatz, what is needed to create an ideology of Aboriginality addressed to the white world?

Tatz provides a broad outline of the ways in which Aborigines have been classified and have classified themselves. These classifications are often closely related. Note his mention on p.7 that the very same distinctions made by Whites have been taken over by some Aborigines. Aborigines may themselves use a set of criteria to decide who counts as a 'true' Aborigine. What criteria do the Strelley mob (Tatz, R8:9) use to distinguish between whole- and part-Aborigines?

Suggestions, too, of the political use of definitions of 'true' Aborigines are contained in the next excerpt (reading 9), an exchange of letters in the *Australian* in 1968 involving the Aboriginal leader Charles Perkins. Read it now, in the light of a further question: how does Charles Perkins's understanding of Aboriginality match or differ from Colin Tatz's understanding?

In the course of his article Tatz refers to the various groups of whites that have been responsible for either the construction or the maintenance of classifications of Aborigines - the government, magistrates, missionaries, pastoral property employers and so on. He singles out for special mention (R8:5-6) the role of anthropologists in the application of the *Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act* of 1976 which he describes as the most positive piece of Aboriginal legislation in Australia's history.

The case of Land Rights provides an important contemporary example of classification in action - important both for Australian society and for the individuals who stand to gain or lose access to land or resources depending on how they are classified. Land Rights legislation is also directly aimed at maintaining Aboriginal traditions or, perhaps more commonly, permitting their restoration and recognition in multicultural Australia. The next section therefore considers some of the mechanisms by which traditions are recognised and how Aboriginal tradition and social identity are closely linked.

3.2.1 Aboriginal Land Rights and the maintenance of tradition

Access to land has played a central role in Aboriginal social, political and religious life so that protection by law for rights of access is a very significant change in relations between Aborigines and White Australians. The recent history and some key issues of land rights are briefly summarised in reading 10 by Nicholas Peterson of the Australian Institute for Aboriginal Studies in Canberra. Read it now and then complete the following SAQ.

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SAQ 11

1. What is the political significance of Land Rights legislation?

2. This excerpt is written by one of the anthropologists collectively referred to by Colin Tatz in the previous reading (R8:6). How does Peterson's view of the contribution that anthropologists and other professionals can make to the achievement of Land Rights (R10:4) differ from Tatz's assessment of their role?

Land Rights legislation is of course intended to have wide social and political consequences, though (as Peterson notes) some problems in the management of land acquired under the 1976 Act have occurred and have since led the NT government to propose modifications to it. But the legislation remains first and foremost about rights to land: what the traditional rights of an Aboriginal group to a particular piece of land are, who can be identified as a traditional owner, how those who hold such rights can demonstrate their traditional ownership to the people who have to put the Act into practice. As these issues show, the question of tradition is at the heart of the discussion, and we shall pursue it by looking at details of the application of the 1976 Act. As Tatz indicates, a crucial role is played by the Aboriginal Land Commissioner who is required to assess the claims by Aborigines to specific stretches of land: it is from two judgements by the then Commissioner, Mr Justice Toohey, that the next readings (11 and 12) are drawn. There are two questions worth keeping in mind when examining these excerpts:

1. How is 'Aboriginality' defined?
2. By what sort of evidence can Aborigines demonstrate their claim to a particular piece of land?

Consider the responses given to the first question in the Finniss River claim, made in 1979 by members of the Kungarakany, Maranunggu and Warai groups to about 700 sq. km of land on the Finniss River near Darwin. (The claim was actually exceptional insofar as it involved conflict among Aborigines themselves as to who the traditional owners of part of the land were, but that isn't relevant to our discussion.) Read the 10 paragraphs excerpted from the Commissioner's judgement and complete the following SAQ.

SAQ 12

1. What two features does Professor Goodale's description of 'Aboriginality' (para.123) add to the definition given by Tatz in R8:8?

2. What sort of evidence did Mr Justice Toohey take into account when assessing claims?

Professor Goodale places equal emphasis on the individual's self-identification as an Aborigine and on other Aborigines' recognition of that self-identification, that claim to identity. To be an Aborigine requires acknowledgement by other people, not just individual wish or insistence. This recognition by others has been written in as a qualification for participation in a number of official Aboriginal activities. Reproduced on the following page is a poster calling for registration of all Aboriginals on the electoral roll for the National Aboriginal Consultative Committee. (Note the definition of an Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander given at the bottom.)

Recognition by others is critical for individuals or even small groups to be able to demonstrate their traditional rights under the 1976 Land Rights Act. Look at paragraph 128 of the Finniss River judgement where the Commissioner lists the kind of acceptable evidence for the desire to maintain tradition. All of it - language, names, recording stories, performing ceremonies and participating in Aboriginal organisations - refers to activities which involve groups of people. None of them can be performed alone, privately. This means that for any individual to participate, all the other participants have to recognise his or her right to do so. They must acknowledge the claim to a shared identity and may be able to deny it if they want to or if it is in their interest to do so. This dependence of individuals on recognition by others for a social identity introduces the issues of power and control in assigning and being assigned identities; these issues will be discussed in more detail in a later section (4.1.2). Here we can just note that, as far as the 1976 Land Rights Act is concerned, the law selects various public activities as the evidence for a people's desire to maintain traditions and treats participation as a sign of full Aboriginal identity. This participation is controlled both by individual desire and by acceptance by others. The ceremonies and rituals provide public indications of identity.

Now we move on to the second judgement (reading 12) by Mr Justice Toohey, on the claim by the Warlpiri and Kartangarurru-Kurintji group to approximately 95,000 sq. km

of land about 250 km north-west of Alice Springs. The 15-paragraph excerpt is taken from the section in which the strength of traditional attachment to land is assessed and includes extensive quotations from Aborigines themselves on the meaning that the land has for them.

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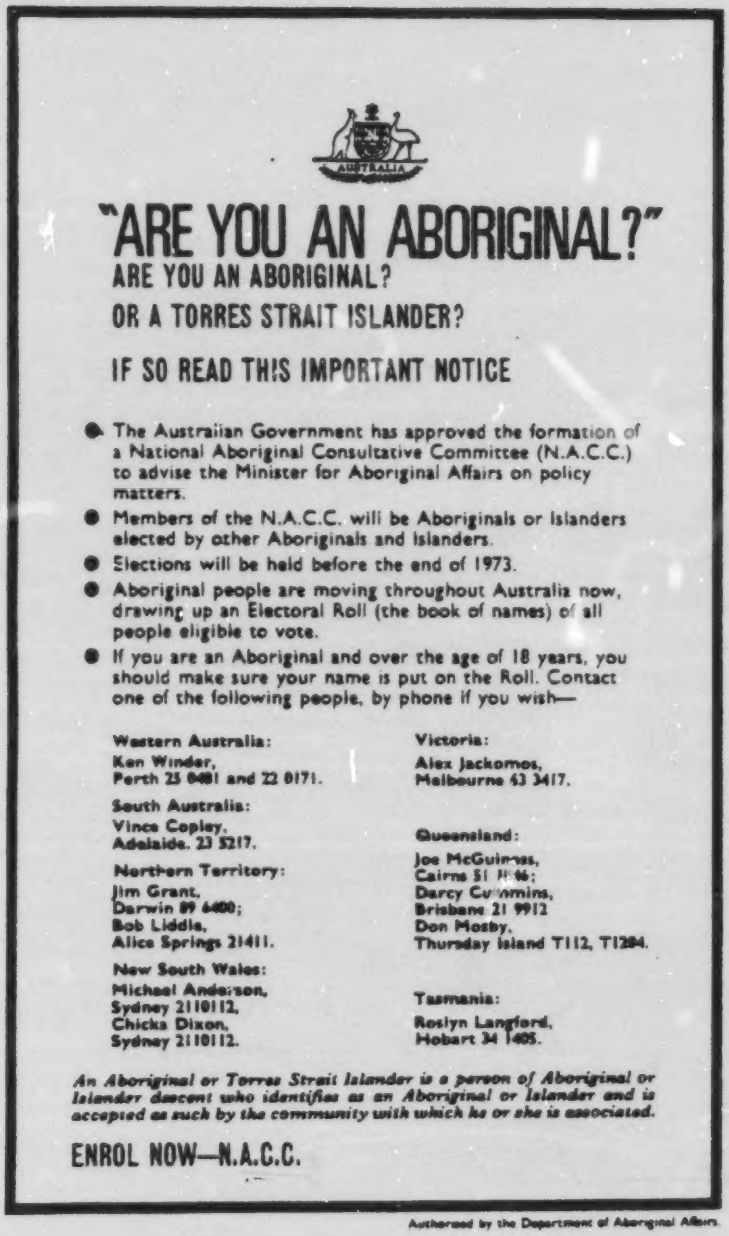

"ARE YOU AN ABORIGINAL?"

ARE YOU AN ABORIGINAL?

OR A TORRES STRAIT ISLANDER?

IF SO READ THIS IMPORTANT NOTICE

- The Australian Government has approved the formation of a National Aboriginal Consultative Committee (N.A.C.C.) to advise the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs on policy matters.
- Members of the N.A.C.C. will be Aboriginals or Islanders elected by other Aboriginals and Islanders.
- Elections will be held before the end of 1973.
- Aboriginal people are moving throughout Australia now, drawing up an Electoral Roll (the book of names) of all people eligible to vote.
- If you are an Aboriginal and over the age of 18 years, you should make sure your name is put on the Roll. Contact one of the following people, by phone if you wish—

Western Australia:
Ken Winder,
Perth 25 0481 and 22 0171.

South Australia:
Vince Copley,
Adelaide. 23 5217.

Northern Territory:
Jim Grant,
Darwin 89 6400;
Bob Liddle,
Alice Springs 21411.

New South Wales:
Michael Anderson,
Sydney 2110112,
Chicka Dixon,
Sydney 2110112.

Victoria:
Alex Jackomos,
Melbourne 63 3417.

Queensland:
Joe McGuinness,
Cairns 51 [illegible];
Darcy Cummins,
Brisbane 21 9912
Don Mosby,
Thursday Island T112, T1284.

Tasmania:
Roslyn Langford,
Hobart 34 1405.

An Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander is a person of Aboriginal or Islander descent who identifies as an Aboriginal or Islander and is accepted as such by the community with which he or she is associated.

ENROL NOW—N.A.C.C.

Authorised by the Department of Aboriginal Affairs.

Document 30. Fay Gale and Alison Brookman (1975). *Race Relations in Australia - The Aborigines*. Sydney: McGraw Hill, p.103.

In addition to what was said at the hearing itself the Commissioner paid considerable attention to those public activities by Aborigines - ceremonies and rituals - which he attended during his visits to the land under claim. It's worth examining some of the paragraphs in more detail through the following SAQ which will also provide the basis for the first tutorial.

SAQ 13

1. In paragraph 207 a distinction is drawn between public action ('ostensible adherence') and private conviction ('degree of spirituality'). People from the same group or community do not all hold common beliefs equally strongly nor do they necessarily participate for the same reasons in the ceremonies which express those beliefs. Since the similarity between Aborigines and Europeans is emphasised here, can you give an example of an important ceremony or ritual in your own culture and the different reasons people might have for participating?

2. Paragraph 220 provides a good example of a point made earlier about the recognition of identity. Can you state it and link it to some of the details of this description?

Beyond the specific points made in the Land Rights readings discussed here, many other important issues of social justice, political integration and economic development are raised by the question of Land Rights. I have added a reference to further reading in the list on page 72 for those of you with the interest and time to examine the problems in more detail.

To conclude this section, let us briefly recapitulate the discussion. We began by examining the idea of 'multiculturalism' and the change from the policy of 'assimilation' that 'multiculturalism' represents for the recognition and support of ethnic and Aboriginal traditions. We were led on to some problems in trying to define the nature, size and membership of those communities whose traditions are to be recognised. Brief consideration was then given to the history of definitions of Aborigines and the various uses to which the definitions have been put. Finally, through the case of Land Rights as an example of giving recognition in law to Aboriginal traditions, we noted the particular importance given to ceremonies and rituals as the 'vehicles' of traditions: they are special kinds of activity which not only permit Aborigines to affirm their Aboriginality but also offer a highly visible means of demarcating Aboriginal society from other groups in Australia. Participation in such activities was accepted by

anthropologists and the Aboriginal Land Commissioner as clear evidence for the desire to maintain traditions. Before we advance any further in the analysis of these vehicles of tradition, we will stop to examine the central term which we have been using quite freely and with familiarity so far - 'tradition'.

TUTORIAL ONE

Starting with a discussion of the responses to SAQ 13, we shall examine the issues tackled so far in the course by the study guide and readings. It would be helpful therefore if you could bring with you the guide and readings 1-12 so we can refer to them for points to be made and difficulties to be discussed.

4. TRADITION AS A TOPIC OF ENQUIRY

In everyday language the terms 'tradition' and 'traditional' normally come with fairly strong positive or negative overtones. To say, for example, that 'it's our family tradition to meet up at Christmas' or 'it's traditional to wear a black tie to a funeral' usually means that the activity is being approved of: the fact that it's said to be 'traditional' gives it the mystique of something which it would be pointless or wrong to try to change. On the other side, to say of someone that he is a very traditional sort of parent or teacher suggests that he's pretty backward, not fully equipped to be bringing up children or working in the present. Likewise, 'traditional' societies are often contrasted with 'modern' ones, the primitive, tradition-bound, superstitious Them against the contemporary, tolerant and rational Us. Perhaps the stereotypes are a little overdrawn but you will certainly recognise the ways that 'tradition' and 'traditional' are often used - it wouldn't be difficult to find examples concerning the Aborigines or the Italians and Greeks in Australia. We will try to avoid getting immediately involved in the dispute about the value of tradition by offering a neutral definition. Tradition can be defined simply as the maintenance of the past in the present. We don't need to take sides between the traditionalists, who believe that whatever has been transmitted from the past is automatically good and worth preserving, and the anti-traditionalists, who believe that nothing which is simply inherited from the past without further thought is worth preserving. Rather, we will assume that the past does survive in the present in all sorts of ways, whether this is recognised by people or not, and then ask some questions about the ways that this survival is accomplished, what the mechanisms for reproducing the past in the present are. Identifying these mechanisms will in several cases open up whole further areas of enquiry in one or more of the disciplines which are contained in this programme, so that in this course we will only be able to see the importance of pursuing a particular line of enquiry rather than get very far down it. However, where there are direct links with discussions of later courses, these will be indicated.

Although our point of departure has been the recognition of ethnic and Aboriginal traditions, we shall be extracting some general principles about tradition which we will be able to examine among all groups in Australian society. We will begin by identifying in some detail just what 'tradition' (of which ethnic and Aboriginal traditions are examples) is, and then consider the range of mechanisms by which traditions are transmitted from generation to generation.

4.1 What do we mean by 'tradition'?

The source for the analysis of tradition (reading 13) is the American sociologist Edward Shils's book *Tradition* (1981). The reading is more abstract than those encountered so far since Shils is exploring the meaning of a concept rather than describing a policy or a practice and we shall therefore spend some time going over his major points. Since these may initially seem elusive, it will be worth your while to read through the piece fairly quickly, noting the headings of the different sections and how they treat different aspects of tradition; complete the following SAQ as you go along.

SAQ 14

Put a tick in the TRUE or FALSE column against the following statements:

	TRUE	FALSE
1. Traditions always contain elements of myth.		
2. For something to be called a tradition it must be transmitted by word of mouth.		
3. Even if a belief or practice has changed, it still counts as part of the same tradition provided that its central elements can be recognised by an outsider.		
4. Traditions can be established in as few as a dozen years.		
5. 'Tradition' stands in contrast to 'reason'.		
6. All traditions have clear boundaries.		
7. 'Traditionalist' means someone who follows a tradition.		

Shils makes a set of points on the form, content and duration of traditions as well as suggesting how important tradition is in maintaining anything that we can recognise as a society. He also suggests why that importance has in part been overlooked. The issues Shils raises will be discussed in more detail in the next four sections, 4.1.1-4.1.4.

4.1.1 Traditions as recipes

In his first section Shils identifies tradition as anything transmitted from one generation to another and then asks exactly what is or can be transmitted. One set of things obviously consists of physical objects - buildings, books, paintings and so on. The second set is more complicated - Shils describes it as "the pattern which guides the re-enactment of actions", the patterns that people must know, for example, in order to behave like Italo-Australians. It might be helpful to grasp this through an analogy by substituting the term 'recipe' for 'pattern'. 'Recipe' is actually a very appropriate term here since its original meaning simply meant 'something received' (in fact, the list of ingredients which the chemist received from the doctor to make up a prescription), and traditions are precisely received from the past by present generations. Shils refers to the 'recipients' of tradition at several points (e.g. R13:2,3). However, in its ordinary contemporary meaning, a recipe is a set of rules as to how to prepare a meal - ingredients plus the instructions on what to do with them. A recipe for a pavlova, for example, allows something recognisable as a pavlova to be made again and again, by different people. Each individual pavlova is consumed and vanishes but the rules for making another ('a guide to the re-enactment') remain and are transmitted from person to person, generation to generation.

What Shils describes as the 'patterns' or 'images' of action which are transmitted we can think of more colloquially as 'recipes', ways of putting together actions or using physical objects (the buildings, paintings or sculptures which Shils mentions) just as a cook puts together a particular dish.

The recipe analogy will help us to get at the second part of Shils's description of what is transmitted: 'the beliefs requiring, recommending, regulating, permitting or prohibiting the re-enactment of those patterns'. For recipes quite often contain not only instructions on how to make a dish but also when to make it - i.e., on a special occasion, a summer evening, for lunch rather than breakfast, immediately after another dish and so on. Just the same is true of actions. In order to behave like an Italo-Australian (to use Bertelli's example, R6:1), people need to know not only what sort of actions to perform but when to perform them - in other words, in what social contexts they are appropriate, required, prohibited and so on. Cornflakes, salt and white wine are all edible objects but you can't combine them and expect anyone to recognise the result as a 'breakfast' (at least I doubt it!). In the kitchen and outside it we have a set of beliefs which tell us which things go together and which other things be kept apart, separated: we have classifications of foods (and decisions about what counts as 'food' in the first place) just as we have classifications of people like 'Italo-Australians' or 'Aborigines'. So, to get back to

tradition, what is actually handed down are rules, patterns, models for action as well as rules telling us when those actions should be performed. Both kinds of rule are necessary to enable people to continue to behave as past generations behaved.

SAQ 15

Without wanting to push the recipe analogy too far, can you see any similarities between recipes and the points which Shils makes about:

1. the identity of a tradition over a long period (R13:2-3)?

2. differences between people who maintain the same tradition (R13:8)?

In one important respect, however, the analogy between traditions and recipes may become rather strained, and that is in the references which Shils makes to custodians and control.

4.1.2 Selecting and controlling traditions

Shils mentions the term 'custodian' at a number of places (e.g. R13:2,8). Before reading on, you might reflect for a moment (perhaps with the help of a dictionary or by looking the word up in Roget's *Thesaurus*) on the meaning of the term and the different images it conjures up. On the one hand, a custodian is the guardian of some valuable object or building, making sure it is preserved intact for future generations. On the other hand, a 'custodian' is connected to the idea of imprisonment, of 'taking people into custody'. These rather different connotations raise the two issues of selection and control.

First, while we may be living among all sorts of bric-à-brac (physical objects, recipes for actions, etc.) from the past reproduced in the present, we do not live among a total chaos of traditions - we make selections and judgements between more and less valuable traditions. Some are considered especially precious, others not so precious. Not only do we inherit objects, beliefs and practices from the past but we also inherit views about their value and importance relative to each other. We inherit a classification of traditions. In any society, then, the different traditions are ranked against one another so that what we call culture (the totality of traditions) consists of a hierarchy of traditions, indicating which ones should be singled out for special attention and to which time and money must be devoted. Commonly, too, special sets of

'custodians' are appointed to make sure that the most valuable objects, recipes and beliefs are preserved. In reading 13, Shils does not have a great deal to say about how different traditions are classified and ranked against one another: but section 2 of this study guide has already presented an example of a change, or at least an attempted change, in ranking. The shift from assimilation to multiculturalism illustrates how traditions once thought to be not worth preserving among ethnic groups in Australia are now considered to be sufficiently valuable to deserve public funding and support. One writer who has been especially concerned with the ways in which culture classifies objects and traditions in terms of their relative value is the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. The next reading, (14) is taken from an article in the *Times Literary Supplement* in which Bourdieu considers how cultures are made up of classifications among things, beliefs and attitudes and how the existence of those classifications also enables us to make distinctions among the people who use them (the classifiers). Distinguishing between 'intrinsically interesting' and 'intrinsically uninteresting' objects (for example, great paintings and advertising photographs) is a basis for being able to distinguish between people - those who can appreciate great paintings and those who can't. This classification is linked in turn to judgements about those people, some being considered 'superior' or 'more civilised' than others. Read the excerpt by Bourdieu now (we will look at some of his empirical findings on the process of social classification later) and complete the following SAQ.

SAQ 16

1. Write down in your own words the point that Bourdieu is making in the last two sentences of the first paragraph.

2. What is the difference between 'legitimate' and 'middlebrow' culture in Bourdieu's analysis?

3. How does he suggest that the distinction is maintained?

Examples of the kinds of classification - the identification of 'superior' and 'inferior' objects and people - that Bourdieu describes can be found in several of the readings we have already looked at. Return to the extract by Colin Tatz (reading 8), in particular the section 'Aborigines as a civilisation'. Can you identify an example of the way in which the dominant discrimination between White Australians and Aborigines may actually be reproduced within Aboriginal society itself?

Second, within each tradition, the term 'custodian' raises the issue of control over the content and means of transmission. What sort of control is exercised over what gets transmitted? Who has the power to decide what should be passed on and what can safely be forgotten as no longer 'central' to the tradition? Who is in a position to alter the recipe or to enforce its use? So, not only is there a classification and ranking of whole traditions (for example, should paintings be valued at all? why should we make special efforts to preserve and transmit them rather than beauty-cases or bicycles?) but there is also a process of selection within traditions (which paintings should be preserved and displayed out of the countless number that should be kept). Some people or groups are obviously in a better position than others to make or influence these decisions, which is where the question of power comes in. As Shils says, because it is people who enact, re-enact and modify traditions (R13:3) and because traditions must always be a selection from the past (R13:5, 'the process of tradition is also a process of selection'), any enquiry into the maintenance of tradition must examine how the selection is made and which groups or institutions are principally involved in making it. Nevertheless, there may also be some features of tradition which prevent its custodians from being able to ensure a clear and unambiguous selection.

SAQ 17

1. What aspects of tradition mentioned by Shils in section 5 constitute obstacles to tight control over what is handed down?

2. Look back at an example of control over the transmission of tradition in Aboriginal society in para.220 of the Warlpiri and Kartangarurru-Kurintji land claim (reading 12). What is the criterion there for distinguishing between those who exercise control over transmission and those who do not?

We will return to that particular example in a later section in discussing how to fix, or attempt to fix, the content and meaning of tradition.

4.1.3 Maintaining traditions through the media of speech and writing

At several points (R13:1,4,6) Shils mentions a distinction between the oral and written mode of transmitting traditions - whether the patterns or recipes are passed on by word of mouth in face-to-face contact between people or whether they are embodied in documents and books which have to be read. Does Shils suggest any ways in which the distinction is

important for the maintenance of tradition? Before reading on, note down anything that you could add to Shils, in particular as regards the possibly different effects of oral and written communication on the control of tradition.

Our concern here is not with what is transmitted but with the way in which it is transmitted. We can ask whether there are any social consequences which follow from the transmission of a tradition in a particular medium - speech, writing, pictures. One aspect of this very broad question concerns the effects of literacy (the skills of reading and writing): while everybody (give or take the occasional wolf-boy) speaks, by no means everybody can read or write, and historically the overwhelming majority of societies have been largely non-literate. Many Aboriginal languages, for example, have not been written down and cannot therefore be used for written communication or as a way of storing traditions in documents: such traditions have to be transmitted orally and require direct personal contact (paragraph 223 of the Warlpiri claim, reading 12, makes this point in a different way). The next two readings, from John Goody and Ian Watt, 'The consequences of literacy' and John Goody, *The Domestication of the Savage Mind*, discuss some important features of different media of communication - first, the relation between writing and the possibility of criticism; second, the social inequalities associated with being literate or non-literate. Read the two excerpts (readings 15 and 16) and complete the following SAQ.

SAQ 18

1. In what ways does the transmission of a tradition in writing favour (a) stability, and (b) alteration in its content?

2. With the points made by Goody and Watt on pp.2-3 in mind, read the final section of Colin Tatz's article (reading 8). How would you now assess his suggestions for the development of an ideology of Aboriginality?

Goody and Watt indicate how all transmission of tradition, whether in speech or writing, depends in very important ways on language, especially vocabulary, acting as a kind of storage of the past. To be able to speak and understand a common language means to be able to participate in what they call a 'chain of interlocking conversations'. Language is the place where some of our most important distinctions are preserved and usually simply passed on, without conscious thought, to all other speakers of the language. That is why Jean Martin (reading 4) and Colin Tatz (reading 8) pay so much attention to changing the terms by which we refer to groups ('migrant' to 'ethnic' etc.): a change of term is a

deliberate attempt to break a tradition of unequal and unjust treatment. We can also see why the APIC-AEAC report gives primary importance to language as the key to a culture and tradition (R2:6-7), and why Bertelli too insists on the need to maintain the understanding and speaking of the language of an ethnic community, if not informally through the family, then through formal education in school (R6:2).

The connection made by Goody and Watt between language and its forms of transmission (written and oral) and more general questions of power and inequality introduces a whole range of further issues to be taken up later. Course HP03b, on *Authorship*, for example, includes consideration of how the technical advance of printing affected relations between authors and readers, and Course HP06a, *Language and Society*, is concerned with the analysis of language as a topic of enquiry in its own right. Similarly, the importance given by Bertelli and others to the school - and the educational system in general - as an important agency in transmitting the past to the present is taken up again below (section 5.1) and in Course HP04b, *Literary Studies*, when the selection and organisation of a particular past to be transmitted (in this case Australian literature) is examined.

4.1.4 Bringing traditions back home

The final point that we take from Shils's analysis of tradition will help to connect us to more detailed discussion of the ways in which traditions are transmitted not only among the ethnic and Aboriginal groups with which we began the course but also among the dominant White Australian majority. Shils points to a bias in the study of traditions since they were first explicitly studied in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Only certain kinds of traditions, among particular groups in society, were taken into consideration, with the result that the broader significance of tradition as necessary to the continuing existence of all societies and social groups has largely been missed. Only the more marginal, less literate and educated groups were thought to have 'genuine traditions' made up of the characteristics listed by Shils on pp.6-7.

SAQ 19

1. Why, according to Shils, did eighteenth and nineteenth century students of tradition confine their analyses to particular social groups or strata?

2. Why might the distinctions made by early students of tradition help to justify the policy of assimilation towards, say, Aborigines or ethnic groups in Australia?

The view by which only marginal and culturally different groups in a society were credited with having traditions while those who did the describing were part of the rational, scientific progressive groups no doubt helped to provide a flattering image for the West. It was always among other people or in other societies that tradition was dominant. But, as Shils suggests (R13:12), in fact any group that persists in time must have mechanisms for reproducing the past in the present, must give a place to tradition. There are two ways of illustrating this point: first, by showing that the contrast between tradition and reason is misleading; second, by demonstrating that just the same features of what were thought to be 'primitive traditions' can actually be identified in those societies considered most advanced and rational. The first point is made in reading 17 by the historian of science we have already encountered in reading 16, Thomas Kuhn. There he describes how even the most rational and innovative activity of advanced societies, natural science, actually depends on tradition.

SAQ 20

How, according to Kuhn, does education in the natural sciences differ from:

1. education in the social sciences or humanities?

2. the practices favoured by liberal educational theory?

Kuhn suggests that just the process of selecting and imposing what is already known (i.e., the past) which we have seen as characteristic of tradition lies at the heart of initiation into the activity of scientific research. If science is our most rational activity and yet its success depends on tradition, then clearly reason and tradition are not opposed in the ways that the eighteenth and nineteenth century analysts of traditions assumed. We cannot push this

point any further here, though we will return to it in later units. In Course HP08b, *Disciplines*, the very influential work of Kuhn on the organisation of knowledge and disciplines will be discussed, while in Course HP04b, *Literary Studies*, we shall examine whether one of the implications of the extract that you have just read - that education in the humanities is more obviously open and less subject to dogmatic control than in the natural sciences - should not itself be questioned.

The second way of showing how mistaken it is to attribute special importance to tradition among 'primitive' Them but never among 'civilised' Us is illustrated by the second course text, Robert Brain's *Rites Black and White*. Read only the back cover, Preface and pages 1-6 of the Introduction now - the other chapters will be considered later. Note the importance of the terms used to describe Black Australians, suggesting their absolute difference from, and inferiority to, those nineteenth century government historians, missionaries and anthropologists who were actually doing the describing. You might list the terms now, so that when you come across them again, you can stop and ask whether they are carrying the same implications.

SAQ 21

On pp.4-5 Robert Brain notes the closely-associated uses of the terms 'pagan' and 'cannibal'. Accusing others of cannibalism has been a common way of indicating the absolute difference between Them and Us. Can you think of any reason why that particular accusation (out of all the possible ways of describing differences) should have been so popular?

While Shils argues for the general importance of tradition, Robert Brain provides some concrete examples of practices ('rites of passage') once thought to be prevalent only among the most primitive groups but in fact to be found in all societies, primitive or civilised. Indeed Brain argues that individuals in any society need these practices. Such an approach brings the study of tradition right back home just as Kuhn brought it into the heart of our most innovative, rational activity - science. It suggests that multi-culturalism should not be understood simply as the more advanced segments of society being tolerant towards others' rights to maintain their traditions but rather as the mutual acknowledgement of similar, or equivalent, mechanisms for reproducing the past among all social groups - White Australian, ethnic or Aboriginal. What is called for, then, is a closer examination of the specific mechanisms for transmitting recipes between generations - for reproducing the past in the present. Ideas and practices are generally

bound together in what are called 'institutions' and are made dramatically visible in the kind of events called 'rituals'. Institutions and rituals, therefore, form the subject matter of sections 5, 6 and 7.

5. THE CONCEPT OF AN 'INSTITUTION'

At several points in the readings so far the term 'institution' has come up in close association with tradition and with the means by which traditions are transmitted. Examples can be found in the APIC-AEAC report (R2:1), Shils (R13:1) and Kuhn (R17:1). Examine those usages of the term:

- Are there any differences in the ways in which, for example, Shils and Kuhn use the term?

Once you have given the comparison some thought, look at the following 6 definitions (or rather, 5 definitions and 1 suggestion on how to set about studying what has been defined) taken from a variety of sources. You could probably find differently-worded definitions without too much trouble although I suspect that they would not contain any features other than those mentioned below:

1. 'a well-established or familiar practice'
   (*Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*)

2. 'in the 20th century "institution" has become the normal term for any organised element of a society'
   (Williams, 1976, p.140)

3. 'activities which are repeated or continuous within a regularised pattern that is normatively sanctioned'
   (Bell in Bullock and Stallybrass eds., 1977, p.313)

4. 'what is meant by "institution" by any social scientist is no longer a fixed body of rules or a visible edifice of bricks and mortar but is the working of some associated set of concepts'
   (Crick cit. in Jarvie, 1972, p.vii)

5. 'a social institution is a set of concepts internal to a practice ... by virtue of which persons are enabled to associate.... Any language is *par excellence* a social institution since it consists of a set of concepts generally available to members of the population whose language it is by virtue of which complete strangers can engage in a practice (speech) which is associative (they can speak to each other)....'
   (Harris, 1979, p.43)

6. 'we ought not to ask of a social institution: "What end or purpose does it serve?" but rather: "Of what conflicts is it the scene?" That is the way in which we shall come to an understanding of its mode of operation.'
   (Passmore in Anderson, 1962, p.xxii)

One thing is at least immediately clear from this list - the term 'institution' has been defined in a variety of different, though not necessarily contradictory, ways. In

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fact each of the definitions draws particular attention to distinct aspects of an 'institution'.

SAQ 22

Each definition in the above list points to a different feature of institutions. Definition 5, for example, emphasises the associative characteristics of social institutions, illustrated by the institution of language. List the distinctive term or phrase for each of the 6 definitions, and in each case, alongside, write an example of an institution that seems to you to illustrate that particular feature especially clearly.

From the point of view of this course perhaps the key element to be stressed in an 'institution' is its role in enabling people to associate (the feature stressed by Colin Harris in his definition of an institution on p.47). Association can be for shared purposes or, as John Anderson suggests, for conflict. Using Harris's example of language as a social institution we can see how it can be used for the purpose of agreeing or of disagreeing. Other institutions - for example 'marriage' - can consist of a mixture of co-operation and conflict, neither of which can exist without the people concerned associating in some way. This point can be linked to the discussion of traditions and ethnic communities by considering Lidio Bertelli's suggestion on how to estimate the real size of the Italo-Australian community - watch how many people behave as Italo-Australians (R6:1). People only behave as Italo-Australians among one another, so they depend on the institutions which enable them to associate and to consider themselves part of the Italian community. So long as those means of association, those institutions, can be reproduced, then Italian traditions (what people do together when they associate) can be maintained. One way to ensure this maintenance is to give the task of encouraging association to organisations with specific responsibility for a particular kind of association - a church to encourage association of believers, a school to link teachers and learners. An enduring organisation is more dependable than the patterns of informal association created by individual whim. Another way is to arrange particular events in which the important concepts that people share are publicly proclaimed as valuable and important. Before moving on to consider those two strategies for maintaining patterns of association and permitting recognition of identities - by setting up organisations and by staging rituals - we shall look at the workings of one institution directly concerned with the survival of the past: the museum.

5.1 An example: the museum

Museums (a term which I shall use to include art galleries) are institutions with the sole function of storing artefacts from the past (paintings, sculptures, pottery, early industrial machinery, etc.) for public inspection in the present. Shils mentions them explicitly as storehouses of the past and as places where the need to make a selection of all the possible survivals from the past is crucial (R13:5). Robert Brain points to their educational, or perhaps anti-educational, function (p.1): visits to museums are a regular part of school curricula, in just the same way as tourist trips (to examine the past somewhere else or see how societies belonging to the past live on) are a growing feature of adult leisure activities. Museums serve as a means of bringing into association those people who visit them and those people from past societies who produced or used or wore the artefacts which are stored there: the physical objects offer a linkage, a kind of association, between cultures which are separated in space and time, geographically and historically. Museums are also felt to deserve considerable public funding. The new Queensland Cultural Centre, with its art gallery and museum, has cost $28 million, and its opening was described in the *Courier-Mail*, which printed an Art Gallery Souvenir to mark the opening on 21 June 1982, as 'the most significant cultural event for nearly a century' (it didn't say what the previous most significant event was). We certainly think first of museums in terms of bricks and mortar - as places - but we can also unearth the workings of the associated concepts as well, since it is with these concepts and how people acquire them that we are concerned here.

SAQ 23

This is an exercise in uncovering the key features or ideas or concepts embedded in an institution. For example, if we had to explain our institution of 'marriage' to someone from another culture who had no grasp of it, we would probably need to use such ideas as love, monogamy, fidelity, residence under one roof, legal contract, religious sacrament, obligation of marital support, necessary condition for producing legitimate children and so on. To understand what the institution of marriage means in our society, we have to understand those features.

So, working on the same lines, make a list of the ideas and features embedded in our institution of 'the museum'.

In order to see the point of a museum - why it exists, why it should be publicly funded, why people attend it - these concepts of value, exemplar, document of its times and the

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recognition of different periods and styles have to be grasped. Otherwise the contents of a museum are just a lot of inert material objects assembled in rooms at vast public expense. To make sense of the order that a museum presents, the ability to distinguish and classify and appreciate has to be acquired. In order to ensure the continuing appreciation of the works of 'legitimate culture' or the importance of a particular period in the past these abilities have to be learnt and transmitted: otherwise the key to the significance of a tradition will be lost. Because we have grown up in a culture where these skills are largely taken for granted as valuable, we are apt to forget that they must be passed on in order for the mass of colours, lines and circles (= 'pictures') to have meaning for us. The questions that we can then ask, as we asked of tradition in general in section 4, are: how are they transmitted, and to whom?

Unfortunately, so far as I am aware, there has been no research on these questions in Queensland or other states, so that the only accessible reading comes from a study into museums in Paris in the 1960s by Pierre Bourdieu. (The only data that I have been able to track down for Queensland are that 221,545 people attended the Brisbane Museum in 1980 and that its government funding amounted to $236,595. Coppell presents some data on Australian leisure activities on pp.120-21.) Probably not all of Bourdieu's factual findings hold for mid 1980s Australia, but he does suggest some more general connections between what we can learn by analysing the museum and the importance of classifications in culture, which we discussed in his earlier extract. Bourdieu's study was part of a wider enquiry into different cultural activities, so I have inserted two tables indicating some broad patterns of cultural participation. (Don't worry too much about how the individual figures in each table were arrived at. What is important here are the broad differences between the various social groups.) In addition I have included a brief commentary by John Kennett (reading 19) which you may find helpful in grasping Bourdieu's general perspective and in doing the next SAQ. Turn now to reading 18, paying particular attention to the way in which Bourdieu links the data on museum attendance, the role of the school and a principal characteristic of culture.

SAQ 24

A particularly important reading skill consists in identifying the key points and connections in a writer's argument. Grasping the major points and steps helps to show where the strong and weak places in an argument are to be found, where the tacit assumptions made by the author are often revealed and therefore where criticism might begin. We can use the Bourdieu reading to practise this skill of identifying the stages in an argument.

Bourdieu moves from the simple data on museum attendance to the general social importance of classification. By what route does he get from one to the other?

You will find 2 copies of reading 18 in the blue booklet. (There are 2 copies in case you are not happy with your first attempt and need to try again!) Your task is in 2 parts:

1. Underline or highlight the 5 sentences in the reading which seem to you to mark the stages of Bourdieu's argument, beginning with his discussion of the data on museum attendance. (They will not necessarily occur in that order in Bourdieu's text).

2. Having identified the 5 key sentences, write them down in your own words.

You will notice that both Bourdieu, in the title of the article from which the first extract was taken, and Shils (R13:12) use the term 'reproduction'. They focus on the general importance of how traditions are maintained, or reproduced, in successive generations. In the discussion of the museum Bourdieu offers an example of a particular tradition (the 'high' culture of our own society) and shows that not only material objects but also the beliefs and classifications which give those objects a meaning have to be preserved. Only with the help of those beliefs and recipes do we know what to do with the objects, how to act towards them, whether to consider them valuable or valueless, and so on. In examining the mechanism for the transmission of these beliefs and classifications Bourdieu singles out the school as particularly important, which is a focus he shares with the writers of other excerpts we have considered earlier (e.g. Kuhn).

Most societies do mark off in some way the places where particularly valuable objects are kept, either by putting walls around them (museums, churches) or by locking them up in safes (banks) or by establishing some other kind of less tangible but no less real boundary around them. Bourdieu

himself mentions the idea of things being 'set apart', separated from other things, segregated (R18:4,6). Very often the classificatory distinction between the thinkable/unthinkable or the valuable/valueless is made visible and tangible by some kind of physical boundary as in the cases just mentioned. A familiar example is the way in which the interior of a house is divided up by walls, which establish boundaries between the different rooms and what they are used for. All our different activities (eating, sleeping, watching television, defecating) are sharply separated from one another by boundaries of bricks and mortar, wood, plasterboard or whatever. The general significance we attach to boundaries - social, physical and intellectual - is part of a concern with classifications. Classifications indicate boundaries between people, and when especially strong positive or negative feelings are attached to maintaining those boundaries, then quite frequently some kind of physical barrier is set up to ensure separation. How boundaries are established and maintained will be a theme to be pursued in more detail in other courses. Courses HP02b, *Urban Australia*, and HP03a, *Community and Control*, examine the processes by which people are thrown together or kept separate in cities and other communities; Course HP08b, *Disciplines*, examines the growth of boundaries between different academic disciplines.

TUTORIAL TWO

There will be three topics for discussion in this tutorial:

1. We will go through any difficulties you may have encountered in the study guide, SAQs or readings since the first tutorial. To reinforce your grasp of what an 'institution' can be, you might choose a further example along the lines of SAQ 23 and describe it briefly in note form for the tutorial.

2. Classifications and boundaries are the major focus in the writings of Pierre Bourdieu. Collect some thought on the ways in which we segregate (i.e., put boundaries around) things and people in terms of their greater or lesser importance in our society.

3. In your assessment items in this programme, you will regularly come across instructions to describe, analyse, compare, contrast particular issues or topics. We will therefore look more closely at what these four terms mean by seeing how to organise answers on the following topics:

   - Analyse marriage as a contemporary institution

   - Compare the institution of law in Aboriginal and White Australian societies.

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6. ETHNIC INSTITUTIONS AND ORGANISATIONS

The specific role of museums is to transmit a particular segment of our own cultural past into the present. The organisations set up by ethnic groups in Australia play a similar role in helping to maintain the traditions of their members. Some organisations are explicitly set up to perform this task: others promote it indirectly by encouraging association between members of ethnic groups for a particular purpose (e.g. social welfare activities) and therefore multiplying the occasions on which the ethnic language is spoken or on which people behave towards one another as fellow Italians or Greeks, Yugoslavs, Vietnamese and so on. The role of ethnic organisations was discussed in reading 2, the excerpt from the APIC-AEAC report. Re-read its first section (R2:1-5) now.

SAQ 25

1. How has the shift towards multiculturalism in government policy favoured the formation of ethnic organisations?

2. What conflicts might government multicultural policy create within an ethnic group?

As the APIC-AEAC report states on p.4, ethnic organisations tend to give a formal continuity to the various groups because they last beyond the interest or lifespan of any single individual. They also serve as focal points with which each ethnic group may be identified in the public mind: what the representatives of an ethnic organisation or association say on a particular issue may well be taken by non-members as an indication of what the entire community thinks. Within each group there may therefore be competition to be elected or appointed or recognised as community representatives vis-à-vis the wider Australian society: some of the conflicts which John Anderson urged us to identify in social institutions (see p.41 above) may become visible in these organisations and the events which they are responsible for. In the next two sections we shall examine some aspects of the organisations of Italians and Greeks in Australia, with particular attention to some of the conflicts involved in the transmission of tradition.

6.1 Italo-Australian organisations in Brisbane and Griffith (NSW)

Although Brisbane has a much smaller Italian community than Melbourne or Sydney, it is still well supplied with Italian organisations. A recent survey (1982) turned up no fewer than 18 clubs or associations responsible for a wide range

of activities from playing bowls (bocce) to prr meetings to the election of Miss Italian Immigrant. M have been set up in the past 15 years, have between 50-20embers and arrange activities which are identical to thoseganised by the social clubs of Australians themselves - scos, car rallies, dances, charity work and so on Of the organisations specifically charged with the mainance and publicity of Italian culture and traditions, thest-known is the Dante Alighieri Society. The Brisbane br.h of this now world-wide organisation was founded in 1 and has approximately 200 members, most of whom are dr not from the Italian community itself but from those with interest in Italian culture. The next reading (20) is en from a speech to the Brisbane Dante Society in 19 by Paolo Totaro, the Chairman of the New South Wales Eth Affairs Commission, in which he discusses the issue of lctivity in the maintenance of tradition. Attached to e xtract are the programmes of the Society's activities 1 81 and 1982 (comprehensible even to non-Italian speakes though you might want to look up one or two nams n an encyclopedia!) which will serve as an example of tend of evidence Totaro is drawing on.

SAQ 26

1. What are the reasons, stated or suggested, for t particular selection of 'Italian culture' made b organisations such as the Dante.

2. So far as you can judge, what sort of cultural classifications are embodied in the Dante progra for 1981-82?

Outsiders, influenced by the very selective and misigly unified view of Italian cultural traditions purv by official organisations, see a single commun of 'Italians'. But, as Totaro points out, this communi in fact divided in several ways. Totaro lists somethe criteria of division on p.1. Another set of dins, which lend particular bite to his remarks, werted earlier in this course - you should refer back at thint to Coppell's figures (p.38) on the occupational sk of Italian immigrants and reflect on the social divisioich different jobs create among Italians themselves.hat Totaro is accusing the Dante Society of is its failu an institution. If a major function of institution to permit association, then the selective cultural tion which the Dante Society is transmitting in fact to deter members of the Italian community from supporit. The proof of failure, Totaro claims, lies in ow attendance, especially by working-class Italians, he lack of interest shown by young people. Because ese groups' refusal to participate the Society is also ng

to encourage association between Australians interested in Italian culture and the overwhelming majority of members of the Italian community.

Reading 21 underlines internal divisions in the Italian community even more sharply in its description of the various associations and organisations of Italians in the town of Griffith, NSW. The account is taken from Rina Huber's *From Pasta to Pavlova*, published in 1977, which is primarily concerned with the maintenance of traditions among migrants from north-east Italy to Australia. (You will notice that the book's title describes the change from Italy to Australia in terms of food and thus ties in with our earlier analogy between traditions and recipes.)

Whereas Totaro emphasises the conflicts between dominant and subordinate groups, Huber focuses in particular on the regional distinctions between Northerners (Veneti and Trevisani) and Southerners (Calabresi) and on the way in which the leisure organisations in Griffith reflect and reproduce these cleavages.

SAQ 27

1. What social divisions are illustrated by the membership and attendance of the clubs?

2. Apart from the clubs how is the distinction between Veneti and Calabresi maintained?

3. To what extent are these distinct identities within the Italian community perceived by outsiders?

The last question of SAQ 27 can be connected to a point that has been noted before in the discussion of ethnic identity and Aboriginality. Look back to the description of ethnic identity given by Professor J.C. Goodale in para.123 of the Finniss River land claim (reading 11). The identities that people acknowledge publicly are actually asserted 'when it is necessary or convenient or important to do so'. That means that an assertion of a particular identity - 'I am a Queenslander' or 'an Australian' or 'an Aboriginal' etc. - depends on the context in which it is being made. For example, if I am speaking to a fellow Queenslander and he asks me where I come from, I shall probably reply, 'I'm a Brisbanite'; if I'm replying to a South Australian, I'll say 'I'm a Queenslander'; and if to an American, 'I'm an Australian'. The assertion of identity - who I am (as far as place of origin is concerned) - will vary depending on the context, in this case on whom I'm talking to. In the same way the Italian community at Griffith counts indifferently as 'Italian' for the Australian population: but when its members define themselves to fellow Italians

the identities of Veneti or Calabresi, Northerner or Southerner, become relevant. In other words the context in which people are asked who they are, whether it is the filling in of a census form or registration to vote or making a claim to traditional land ownership, is very important: and when the context changes, the particular identity that people will assert is likely to change too.

6.2 Greek institutions and organisations in Sydney

Gill Bottomley's study of the Greek community in Sydney, from which reading 22 is taken, was also carried out during the period 1969-71. Although she has been able to update some material, it is likely that the emphasis on multiculturalism in the late 1970s has given even greater importance to the organisations she discusses as the vehicles of Greek traditions. The reading begins with a general statement on the meaning and significance of 'ethnicity' and how an ethnic group differs from a 'race' and a 'nation': the major institutions and organisations which serve to maintain traditions are then described in some detail - the Church, types of cultural associations, the school and the press. Read the extract now, with the following considerations and questions in mind.

Bottomley's material lends itself well to comparison with some of the other readings, both empirical (like Huber) and analytical (like Shils and Bourdieu). The next SAQ consists of exercises in comparison.

SAQ 28

1. Compare the importance of clubs/associations among Italians in Griffith (NSW) and Greeks in Sydney. What similarities and differences in their role in the respective ethnic communities can be identified?

2. Re-read the excerpt from Pierre Bourdieu on the role of the school in transmitting cultural traditions (reading 18). In what ways do the Greek schools in Sydney provide evidence for Bourdieu's argument?

3. One particular kind of organisation has been created by both Italians and Greeks to encourage association with other Australians. Why do you think that this particular organisation is so appropriate?

In Bottomley's introductory section ('Ethnicity and the ethnic group') the terms 'meaningful intelligibility' and 'meaning-system' appeared. One task of the Castellorizian Brotherhood was also indicated as teaching children the meaning of rituals (R22:8). In a previous extract, too, we

encountered Pierre Bourdieu's statement that culture provides meaning (i.e., enables us to make sense of society and the world) and that in any society there is a continuing conflict about which group's meanings are to be imposed on others (Kennett: R19:1). We shall meet this particular issue in a later course (HP04a, *Cultural Formations*) where the notion of 'hegemony' is discussed. More generally, however, questions of 'meaning' are central to both the humanities and the social sciences, and the problems of how to discover, describe and explain social meanings constitute major areas of disagreement. Sometimes meanings are attributed to individuals ('What did Patrick White mean by a particular phrase in *Voss*?'); sometimes social institutions are credited with meanings ('Marriage means slavery for a woman'). The issues are made more complex by the different meanings of the word 'meaning', and you can see this by providing quite different synonyms for the verb 'mean' in the two examples I have just given. In the case we are discussing here, talking about the meaning of a custom or practice among the Greek community is rather like talking about, for example, the meaning of black clouds. Just as we come to learn that black clouds mean rain, so the youngest members among the Greek community come to learn the meaning of particular actions or institutions. They learn to interpret, to make sense of, a custom or belief and therefore appreciate its importance. They can grasp that it makes sense (is intelligible) as part of Greek tradition. Bourdieu pointed out that the knowledge provided by the school made the pictures in a museum meaningful, and quoted a workman who confessed that to him museums were meaningless (R18:4). Bottomley's examples show how in the Greek community one task of the Church and the school is to teach the meaning of particular actions and beliefs and to show how they are a major part of 'what it means to be a member of the Greek community'. They are the recipes for understanding which are transmitted as traditions: they indicate how to behave as a Greek.

Rather more than among Italians in Griffith, the Church is considered to be a particularly important focus for the Greek community.

SAQ 29

Why is the Church a central institution

a) for migrants in general?

b) among Greeks in Australia?

The response makes mention of another term which has come up in several contexts - ritual, or rite or rite of passage. Reference back to a number of the readings will turn up

examples of the use of the term - for example, the title of Robert Brain's book, Tatz (R8:4), Shils (R13:8) and Bourdieu (R14:1). The analogous term 'ceremony' has also appeared frequently (e.g. the Warlpiri land claim, reading 12, para.214). Anzac Day, for example, is an obvious member of that class of events called 'rituals' or 'ceremonies'. These two terms are closely linked to the notions of tradition, identity and meaning. Before we go on to discuss them in the final sections of this course, look back over the use and examples of the two terms in the extract by Bottomley and list some of the general features which get those events classified specifically as 'rituals'.

7. RITUALS AND CEREMONIES: THE VEHICLES OF TRADITION

Rather like the term 'institution', 'ritual' has been heavy going for people trying to find an entirely satisfactory definition. No one has found, or is likely to find, a definition which sharply separates the category of 'ritual' events from all other kinds of event. But, as with 'institution', what we can do is to find a set of features which are all likely to be present in what we call 'ritual', though some of them will also be present in those other sorts of events. The first extract to be read in this section is from an essay on secular ritual by Sally Moore and Barbara Myerhoff (reading 23). Although their concern is with the specific features ('formal properties', as the authors say) of ritual that make it an appropriate means of transmitting given traditions or establishing new ones, you should be able to compare your own list of features compiled a moment ago with theirs. Read the extract now, and search for some examples of each of the 6 characteristics in the events which have been described as rituals, rites and ceremonies in the readings so far.

Rituals, then, refer to a particular kind of event that is repeated and 'acted' or 'staged'. Shils's term 're-enactment' according to a set of rules or recipe (R13:1) captures these two aspects neatly: the existence of rules points to the fact that rituals normally have a set order in their performance (first the march, then the church service, then the banquet). The mention of 'acting' refers us to plays and films and indicates the dramatic, attention-compelling aspects of ritual which Moore and Myerhoff include as properties nos. 3 and 5 in their list. It also points to the requirement that a ritual be a collective public event with both actors and an audience, participants and spectators. Furthermore, rituals carry messages about the desirability of perpetuating some aspect of the past, of remembering some important event or person: they insist on the value of maintaining some belief or practice. The fact that they are dramatic events enables rituals to highlight the particular meanings that are being transmitted and to bring home the content of what is being transmitted more forcefully to participants and spectators. The organisation of rituals by ethnic groups is therefore an especially good way of drawing public attention to some key features of ethnic traditions and cultures and of presenting as visibly as possible the ideas and specific patterns of behaviour associated with the different ethnic communities. To refer back to the reading by Bertelli (R6:1) rituals show members of ethnic groups some of the most important aspects of 'how to behave as, say, an Italo-Australian'; and by being able to participate publicly in these events an individual can affirm an identity to himself or herself, to the community and to outsiders. Rituals provide moments of public classification.

Such features characterise rituals in general. There are, however, differences between kinds of rituals. Re-read

the section by Bottomley on the role of the Church in the Greek ethnic community.

SAQ 30

1. What different types of ritual does Bottomley mention?

2. How would you describe the differences between them from the examples of each type that she gives?

One further reason why the Orthodox Church is so important in the maintenance of Greek traditions and identities is because it provides both sorts of rituals - those primarily concerned with individuals and those with a collective significance. Events which are claimed to be important in the life of an individual (as we shall see, Robert Brain asserts their universal significance in *Rites Black and White*) are actually organised by an ethnically-defined and bounded institution, the Church, so that they are especially effective vehicles for the maintenance of ethnic traditions. Both life-cycle rituals (or rites of passage) and collective rituals have received considerable attention from anthropologists, sociologists and psychologists, and we shall examine each type in turn.

7.1 Rites of passage

The term 'rite of passage' was coined by the French sociologist, Arnold Van Gennep, to whom we owe the first systematic analysis of this type of ritual. The next excerpt (reading 24), which you should read now, is taken from his book published in 1908 and entitled *Rites of Passage*.

SAQ 31

Van Gennep states that the progress of human life resembles the progress of nature and the universe. In what way are they different?

Van Gennep sees social life itself as made up of passages of individuals through various stages or statuses in a wide range of activities. Schoolgirl -- university student -- worker -- pensioner, is one such 'career'; baby -- boy -- youth -- adult -- old man, is another. Can you think of another set of passages? (Not all of them have as many stages as in my examples.)

. We can, however, examine Van Gennep's picture from a different angle. Instead of concentrating on the movements of individuals we can emphasise the stability of the positions through which the individuals move. While countless numbers of men and women move across the boundary between being 'unmarried' and being 'married' at different times or ages and in different ways, giving the impression of great social confusion, nevertheless the categories 'bachelor' and 'husband' ('spinster'/'wife') which distinguish each side of the boundary are quite firm. They represent a fixed, constant element and thus provide an order for all the myriad careers of individuals. By looking at these social categories and examining the ways in which they are maintained, kept in place, we can begin to make sense of how cultures and societies persist. In the specific cases covered by this course, we can see how ethnic groups and Aboriginal groups can maintain the sense of continuity with the past through the sharing of certain basic social categories with the members of past generations. Some examples will come up presently.

These two ways of looking at Van Gennep's description and placing the emphasis either on individual movements or on social categories are mentioned by David Pocock in reading 25. The different emphases are represented on one hand by himself and on the other by Robert Brain. Begin with the extract by Pocock, paying particular attention to his discussion of classification.

SAQ 32

1. What aspects of ritual as a general category does Pocock's example of the salute illustrate?

2. Can you find another example, beyond those mentioned by Van Gennep and Pocock, of a rite of passage and describe its tripartite structure?

For this course, perhaps the most significant sentences from Pocock's extract are the following: 'The rites of passage are, above all else, the means by which a society reaffirms its classifications' (R25:3) and, 'Through its rites and ceremonies a society draws or redraws the lines of its classifications and affirms what is important to it' (R25:4). We noted above, in the first extract from the writings of Pierre Bourdieu (reading 14), that one central feature of culture is how it embodies a set of classifications between the thinkable/unthinkable, the speakable/unspeakable, the interesting/uninteresting, and so on. Pocock extends Bourdieu's line of argument by pointing out that important classifications and distinctions have to be publicly reaffirmed (re-enacted) in order for them to retain their social meaning and significance. Rites of

passage and other rituals, therefore, are the events which proclaim these classifications and emphasise their fundamental nature. They serve as a key vehicle for the maintenance of traditions and social identities.

Exactly what sort of reaffirmation of social classifications does Pocock have in mind for rites of passage? First, he suggests that there are certain basic categories in a society, like 'wife', 'father', 'child' and 'adult', which people belong to and which determine how others treat them. We treat a 'child' differently from an 'adult' so it makes a difference into which category a person falls. Likewise we ourselves expect to be treated differently by children and adults. (To go back to the example used in section 3.2.1, people defined as 'Aboriginal' were and are treated differently in laws such as the Land Rights Act from those who are not.) These categories help us to place people on the social map, to recognise who they are socially and to act towards them in suitable ways. What these ways are, of course, varies very considerably from one society to another. Rites of passage are therefore important because they remind people publicly of the distinction between categories (say, child/adult, bachelor/husband) and they reaffirm the importance of the boundary between them. In extreme cases, if the boundaries weren't there, then the social order would collapse into chaos as we would no longer be able to assign people to categories nor to have any expectations about how we should treat them or how they were going to treat us. The fundamental ways of recognising social identities would be gone. These statements of social importance are what Pocock means by rites 'saying' things. A rite may of course 'say' more then one thing.

SAQ 33

To take a particular example from Bottomley, what are the various 'statements' made by the rites of passage in the Greek Orthodox Church in Australia?

Second, Pocock points out that rites of passage do not just 'say' things but also do them. They are after all rites of passage, moving people from one category to another. Not only do they reaffirm those categories but they also publicly proclaim that an individual who was once treated in one way (e.g. bachelor) must from now on be treated differently (as a husband). In this way part of the social identity of a person is altered. The more public and visible the ceremony, the more widely this social reclassification of an individual can be observed. Not all rites of passage have to do with birth, marriage and death, since it is often necessary (as Van Gennep points out) publicly to proclaim the reclassification of a person from

one category to another in areas which have nothing to do with individual ageing. For example, court trials are a type of ritual which may publicly reclassify people from the category 'innocent citizen' to 'guilty prisoner', and of course quite different treatment follows from this rite of reclassification!

Some of the general points made by Pocock will be clarified by the examples in the next few readings. The first to be tackled is the paperback you have been asked to buy for the course, Robert Brain's *Rites Black and White*. You will have already dipped into the Introduction at least. Perhaps you were sufficiently intrigued to have gone on reading right the way through - just as long as you weren't so repelled that you decided not to open it again! As the author himself says, it is a very personal book, and he freely acknowledges the rather gross distinctions (e.g. Black vs White) and speculations that it contains (see p.x). He also points to some differences between anthropological and psychological approaches to rituals (p.16), though he himself does not always observe the distinction. Here we will be concerned with the anthropological interpretations and not with the psychoanalytical suggestions and analogies which Brain advances. Rather than reading the whole book through from cover to cover, you should concentrate only on the following three sections. (If you are interested, have time, and want to read the other chapters now rather than later, you should of course do so.) The sections for particular attention are:

1. Introduction (pp.1-22)

2. 'Marriage', ch. 9 (pp.153-168)

3. Conclusion (pp.217-228)

These excerpts will provide the basis for one of the third tutorial activities, to be identified shortly. In anticipation of it, complete the following SAQ.

SAQ 34

1. What changes does Brain argue for in the rituals of beginning and ending White Australian marriages? What reason does he give for his suggestions?

2. What general connections does Brain suggest between ritual and emotion?

In the course of his conclusion Brain asserts that Australians do not grow up because they do not have the appropriate celebratory ritual at times of life's crises: 'They do not grow up because there are no means for them to

do so' (p.222). Whatever the worth of this fanciful suggestion, it echoes a theme encountered in an earlier reading on Aboriginal society that 'growing up' is work for society as well as for the individual. Look back at the Warlpiri and Kartangarurru-Kurintji land claim (reading 12, para.220) which contains a quotation from one of the leading students of Aboriginal society, W.E.H. Stanner.

To examine the full argument on the relation between physical and social maturity, the rest of Stanner's lecture is well worth reading. Apart from the particularly evocative account of an Aboriginal rite of passage, it provides an example of one consequence of the interruption of the transmission of tradition for a particular social group, in this case adolescent boys. The rites which carry the tradition forward from the past into the present also offer the social means for young men to grow up, to make the transition from 'youth' to 'adult' and to occupy a recognisable social position. Read Stanner's lecture (reading 26), then complete the next SAQ.

SAQ 35

1. From Stanner's description can you identify the techniques and procedures which make up the tripartite structure of this rite of passage?

   a. the rites of separation?

   b. the rites of transition?

   c. the rites of incorporation?

2. Why have the hopes that White Australians placed in the education of Aborigines not been fulfilled, according to Stanner?

The three readings on rites of passage (Pocock, Brain and Stanner) provide a variety of points and perspectives which we can use as a basis for discussion in the third (and final) tutorial activity. The particular skill with which we shall be concerned is comparison: how to compare the arguments of different writers on the same issue, what sort of evidence each writer uses to support his argument, how we assess the weight which should be given to different sorts of evidence. Since the title of the part-time degree is 'Australian and Comparative Studies', learning the techniques and skills of comparison is an integral part of the work.

Even if you can't attend the tutorial you should still work out your responses to the questions.

Summary of this section: We have seen that one of the principal reasons for the importance of the Greek Orthodox Church in maintaining Greek traditions in Australia is in the rituals it provides. Because the Church is virtually restricted to Greeks, membership and participation in rituals are public ways for an individual to affirm his or her Greek identity. The Church activities encourage association among those who wish to be considered members of the Greek community in Australia and to maintain some of its traditions. A particularly important set of rites are the rites of passage; they give the individual a social identity, and they do so within the framework of an institution which is closely identified with Greek national traditions (see Bottomley, R22:4,6). Individual and national identity come together in these rites and therefore reinforce each other. We then examined the more general significance of rites of passage in all societies and their task of reinforcing particular social classifications and providing the stages of the 'careers' through which members of society move. We concluded with the examination of a case in Aboriginal society where this orderly sequence of passages and the social distinctions and expectations it embodies have been largely destroyed. The patterns of association between older and younger generations are disintegrating: to use the phrase taken from Goody and Watt, the 'chain of interlocking conversations' has been snapped. All the rites of passage we have been considering are designed to 'do' something - to move an individual from one category to another, to manage the crossing of a social boundary. In the following section we shall examine those rituals which have been created primarily to 'say' something.

7.2 Collective rituals

What counts as a rite of passage is fairly clear: where the boundaries of the more general category, ritual, should be drawn is much less so. First, although rituals are often associated with religion, the readings of the previous section show that there is no necessary link. Many secular rituals exist or have existed: Australia Day and Anzac Day (to take two local examples), coronations, May Day parades in Moscow, the anniversary of George Washington's birthday, and so on. Second, as Pocock's discussion of the salute indicated, there is no hard and fast distinction between a ritual act and some other kinds of act. The 6 features listed by Moore and Myerhoff as defining ritual are best described in terms of being present to a greater or lesser degree rather than being either present or not present. Quite often, the more important a particular action is considered, the more highly formalised it is likely to be (cf. Shils, R13:8). But exactly how often an action should be repeated, or how formal it should be or how many people must be present for it to count as a ritual cannot be precisely stated. This lack of precision is a characteristic of many terms in the humanities and social

sciences but it does not deprive them of usefulness in analysing texts or societies.

If you look back at the final paragraph of the Moore and Myerhoff extract (R23:1), you can see two other categories of event with which ritual shares many features. Shils, too, (R13:8) makes a similar comparison. Major sporting events, which come round annually such as the Melbourne Cup and the VFL Grand Final, are quite often described as rituals just like the Anzac Day marches and ceremonies. In reading 27, John Carroll draws an explicit contrast between sporting rituals and rituals celebrating moments of national achievement. Read his extract now before completing the following SAQ.

SAQ 36

State in your own words why, according to Carroll, sporting rites are 'a rickety basis on which to build any sense of identity'.

Carroll unintentionally provides a good example of Pierre Bourdieu's remark that 'culture classifies - and classifies the classifiers' which we examined earlier. The distinction which Carroll draws between the traditional 'witty crowd' and the new 'yahoo spectators' in terms of their knowledge (and lack of knowledge) of the lore of the game and the honourable behaviour which cricket is supposed to teach is a neat example of Bourdieu's indication of how the 'cultivated' distinguish themselves from the 'uncultivated'. The claim to possess particular pieces of intrinsically interesting and valuable knowledge is precisely mentioned by Bourdieu as a means of claiming social superiority. Is there any doubt in which group ('witty crowd' or 'new yahoos') Carroll the 'classifier' would classify himself? The fact that a writer uses a particular classification may tell us a great deal about the values which he or she holds, values on which the use of that particular classification rests. We can add Carroll's remark to the case noted by Stanner in Aboriginal society of the way in which the possession of knowledge is a mark of social distinction and discrimination.

The final two sections of the course will therefore take up national and sporting rituals respectively, with particular concern for the topic of identity. The focus will be on how what these rituals 'say' may be linked to conflicts in the wider society in particular to the conflicts between people who affirm different identities. Because rituals are specially staged events, set apart to some degree from everyday life, it is often thought that what they 'say' is likely to have a particular effect on the

participants and spectators. Their messages are likely to be especially effective. However in most societies there will be groups that wish to contest these statements, that do not agree with their content or adhere to the proclaimed identity. Attempts to alter the meaning or rules of the ritual may therefore be made, and the tradition of which the ritual is a vehicle may in consequence be changed. It is quite common to hear Anzac Day or the Melbourne Cup or Test Matches described as 'institutions'. By examining some of the conflicts which such rituals express or suppress we will be following the advice of John Anderson (study guide, p.41) on how to go about studying social institutions.

7.2.1 Empire Day, Anzac Day, the flag ceremony and all that

Two readings for this section describe the invention and organisation of Empire Day in New South Wales at the beginning of the century. Empire Day is no longer celebrated in Australia but it nevertheless provides a good example of how a ritual may be used to affirm a political identity both for recognition by outsiders and for transmission as a tradition to be taught to children. The importance of the school as an institution which maintains traditions is emphasised in these accounts. Similarly, the contest between different groups in Australian society over Empire Day is an example of a contest over classification: were Australians primarily to be classified and to classify themselves as members of an Empire dominated by Britain or as members of an independent nation called Australia, as imperialists or nationalists? Read first the excerpt by Maurice French (reading 28) on the political conflicts over Empire Day, then the excerpt by Bessie Bessant (reading 29) on the role of schools in the maintenance of the Empire Day tradition.

SAQ 37

In what sense was Empire Day 'ambiguous', the term used to describe it in Maurice French's title?

Empire Day has disappeared from the official calendar because its positive message (the imperial identity) no longer has the significance it once had and because the nationalist identity has found a more compelling vehicle in the Anzac Day ceremonies. However in recent years Anzac Day has not only had to contend with the gradual loss of its primary participants (the survivors of Gallipoli) but also with an attempt to change the message of the ritual itself. To use a term introduced earlier, the aim has been to change the 'recipe' which governs the re-enactment of Anzac Day activity, as regards the beliefs and practices which make up remembrance on April 25. This attempt is described in the

next excerpt, from the May/June 1981 issue of the *Women's News Service* (reading 30).

SAQ 38

What sort of changes to the Anzac Day 'recipe' were proposed, directly or indirectly, by the Australian Women Against Rape group?

Perhaps the more general antiwar feelings expressed will come to be increasingly represented in the meaning of the Anzac Day ceremony as the surviving Anzacs themselves die out, leaving a 'space' to be filled in the existing rules for staging the ceremony. The primary meaning of the ritual may therefore shift from remembrance of a particular group of soldiers to a broader statement about war itself, rather like the shift in the meaning of Empire Day from pro-imperial unity to anti-communism described by Maurice French. The ritual will thus become a vehicle for a different and much more recently established tradition. It will become a public means for remembrance of a different set of attitudes and beliefs and will probably encourage quite different groups to participate.

Rituals such as Empire Day, Anzac Day and Australia Day all make statements about unity. They proclaim what Australians share with one another at a given time, and how they are linked to particular moments in the past. The last group of rituals to be considered in the following section specifically allows for opposition and conflict but within a set of agreed rules. The sharing of a set of rules, in games and sports, is necessary to allow the contest to take place at all.

7.2.2 Of rites and riots

Not all sporting rituals do remain orderly events within the rules however. The reasons that some do not can be traced to the relationship between events on the field or in the stadium and the conflicts and divisions within society at large. While sports, like other kinds of ritual, are often 'set apart' from everyday life and are very carefully staged, they may be just as closely linked to political and social conflicts as Empire Day was. Staging a game can be a dramatic representation of a conflict in which opposing identities are matched against each other: victory or defeat is a way of stating, however temporarily, the superiority or inferiority of one group to another. An example of a sporting ritual in which social identity is heavily involved is provided by the next reading, Orlando Patterson's analysis of Test Matches between England and the West Indies (reading 31).

SAQ 39

Patterson describes the way in which the spatial distribution of different groups around the ground makes the social divisions highly visible, indeed reproduces them publicly. Which other example of ritual that we have examined makes a similar use of space?

Patterson's description of the arrangement of the crowd at Test Matches offers further illustration of a point made in an earlier section - that social classifications are frequently given some kind of physical representation. Social divisions between groups are mirrored by the boundaries between them round the cricket field. The rooms in a house, Aboriginal sacred sites, museums and churches are all cases of the process of setting apart, of maintaining social and intellectual boundaries in deliberately obvious ways. The Greek term used by Bourdieu for this process was *diacrisis* (R18:4) which is the origin of the English word 'diacritic'. In this sense traditions are diacritic: their existence and maintenance serve to distinguish between the social groups present in a population and to affirm the boundaries between them.

Turn now to the role of cricket in the history of the search for an Australian identity: the excerpt from *Up Where, Cazaly?* by Leonie Sandercock and Ian Turner (reading 32) provides background on the social context in which cricket was imported into Australia and how it was seen as a way of overcoming class divisions. In lighter vein, Keith Dunstan's account of a riot in one of the earliest Test Matches reintroduces the figure of Edmund Barton, already met with in Maurice French's excerpt, and describes an earlier, almost equally dramatic, episode of underarm bowling to put beside the case quoted by John Carroll.

SAQ 40

How does the Melbourne Cup explicitly emphasise the unity rather than the conflicts of participants?

Finally, large claims are made by both John Carroll and Keith Dunstan for the role of Test Matches as rituals of national identity. However, we have seen how, in the case of Empire Day, rituals may be organised to present a spurious message of unity and to disguise social conflicts. Carroll offers one reason why, in spite of this popularity, sporting contests cannot really be successful rituals of identity (R27:1), but consider a different kind of reason.

Examine the features of Test cricket (especially who participates) and you can see that, if the Ashes were really to be considered as a possible national ritual, then the boundaries of the 'nation' represented will have to be drawn to exclude many social groups and categories in Australia - where are the Italo-Australians, the Greek Australians, Aborigines and women to find an identity in a ritual played out between White Anglo-Celt Australians and English men?

8 CONCLUSION

We have covered a lot of ground in this course, from multiculturalism to the Melbourne Cup. Look back at the 3 course objectives listed on p.7 of the study guide. You can use them to think about the order and relationship of the materials examined in Course HP01b. We began by noting how the policy of multiculturalism is the most recent model for relationships among groups that have arrived in Australia at different times and between those groups and the Aboriginal inhabitants. Taking the policy seriously requires estimates of the size of each group and therefore some means of classifying individuals as members or non-members. In the case of Land Rights those classifications may have important economic and political consequences for the individuals and groups involved. The examples suggested how the establishment of social identity (membership of a group) depends not only on how an individual classifies himself or herself but on how far others are prepared to accept the claim. Public observance of traditions, demonstrated by participation in rituals and ceremonies, is an important component in establishing identity. We then turned to the concept of 'tradition', focussing on the general processes of keeping the past alive in the present and, in the case of science, preserving the past as a guarantee of future discoveries. Traditions don't just stay alive through the unaided operations of human memory, however: they have to be deliberately maintained through institutions (like museums) and organisations (such as ethnic clubs) with responsibility for promoting association between group members and arranging events which concentrate attention on selected aspects of the past. Those events commonly take the form of rituals, though by no means all are successful - witness the discussion of the failure of Australia Day at the beginning of Course HP01a. We ended by examining collective rituals and rites of passage and tracing some ways in which they are tied to the processes of social classification and affirmation of social identity from which we began.

So much for one part of the course content. The other part has been to start building a vocabulary of terms used in the humanities and social sciences - tradition, institution, classification, identity, ritual. Using these terms has enabled us to see connections between things which might seem to be rather different: we brought together science and Parliament as examples of the single concept, 'institution', and Aboriginal initiation ceremonies and the Melbourne Cup as instances of 'ritual'. The terms allow us to see how, in some respects, apparently very dissimilar events or processes are actually alike, and they therefore permit us to develop the specifically comparative aspect of the Part-Time Degree programme. In one sense, of course, comparison is necessarily present in the very identification of persons, events and objects - to say 'that's a dog' means that the animal in question has been compared with an agreed example of the category and found similar. One place where

disputes in the humanities and social sciences arise is over the selection of terms to describe those persons, events and objects: is the respect in which two objects are claimed to be alike more or less important than the respect in which they differ? In the courses which follow you will be adding all the time to your conceptual vocabulary, and the opportunities to appreciate these disputes will increase. Tutorial Three, overleaf, will go over some of the context covered since Tutorial Two: with the help of some examples, it will also give you some practice in organising material relevant to the assessment item.

TUTORIAL THREE

This tutorial is in two parts and will be particularly concerned with preparation for the assessment item.

1. We will deal with any problems you may have come across in the course since the second tutorial.

2. We will discuss some techniques for writing an essay and some ways of organising and using the course materials. It will be best to do this through specific and relevant questions so that you can revise some major issues as well as get some practice in how to plan and write short essays. So you might jot down some notes on the following two questions before the tutorial:

   - Contrast the explanations given by Brain and Pocock of the need for ritual.

   - Contrast multiculturalism and assimilation as approaches to relations between groups in Australian society.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

A bibliography is a list of books or other materials which are used in the preparation of intellectual work - a book, a thesis, a study guide, an essay.

This bibliography of readings set in this course is to serve two purposes. Firstly, it will give you the necessary information to find in the Library the texts from which the readings have been taken, should you wish to read further. Secondly, it provides an example of how a bibliography is constructed.

You will note that writers' names are listed alphabetically, and followed by the year of publication, and chapter of article titles. Book titles, and names of journals and newspapers are underlined or typed in italics. You will also note that in the case of books, the place of publication (e.g. Melbourne) and the name of the publisher (e.g. Oxford University Press) is given. When journals are referred to, the volume number, number and date of issue, and page numbers of the article should be given.

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FURTHER READING

The following books will be helpful if you are interested in pursuing some of the topics raised in this course. They are not required for assessment.

M. Clyne: *Multilingual Australia*, Melbourne: River Seine Publications (1982). A thorough investigation of the problems of identifying and maintaining 'community languages' in Australia.

C. Tatz: *Aborigines and Uranium and Other Essays*, Heinemann Educational Australia (1982). A selection of essays on Aborigines' relation to education, the law and uranium mining.

C. Cronin: *The Sting of Change*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press (1970). A description of Italian families in Sicily and in Melbourne, indicating some of the changes in family relations associated with migration.

C. Lane: *The Rites of Rulers*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1981). A very interesting account of the theory and practice of ritual in contemporary Soviet society. The author argues a strong case for the importance of political ritual in all advanced industrial societies.

You might, of course, want to read further in the texts from which the readings have been taken. Full details are provided in the Bibliography (pp.69-71) to enable you to track them down.

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ANSWERS TO SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

SAQ 1 (p.9)

Although there might be some room for different emphases my answer would run like this:

Para.1: The example given in the SAQ.

Para.2: In most societies, including Australia, there is an important distinction between dominant and minority cultures.

Para.3: Multiculturalism means that the representatives of minority groups have the right to be heard, not that members of some groups have the right to do everything they value.

Para.4: A serious tackling of multicultural issues requires discussion and allocation of responsibility for specific tasks among ethnic communities, the government and other established groups.

Para.5: Maintenance of minority cultures depends on deliberate organisation by those communities to preserve their traditions.

SAQ 2 (p.10)

1. True. 79.8 per cent of the population in 1976, 77.2 per cent in 1901.

2. Northern Europe (UK, Germany, Holland) for 1959-60, Southern Europe (Yugoslavia, Greece, Italy) for 1964-65, and South-East Asia (Malaysia, Indonesia) for 1977-78.

3. If you add up the percentages for those aged 50-54, 55-59 and over 60 (e.g. 2.3% + 1.6% + 2.7% in 1950-51) in each period and compare the totals, you will see that there has been a steady rise, indeed nearly a doubling, in the percentage of older arrivals. In addition to refugees, these are likely in many cases to be the parents or other dependants of long-established migrants. Otherwise the age distribution of those arriving has remained broadly similar over the three decades.

SAQ 3 (p.12)

Briefly, the policy of assimilation required members of migrant and Aboriginal groups to change their attitudes, values and customs to conform to those of White Australians. 'The most desirable migrant was considered to be the person who was most nearly Australian' (R2:7). The policy was devised in the period immediately after 1945 when the

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beliefs and practices of Australians were thought to be fairly standard and therefore to provide a clear single model which migrants and Aborigines could identify and conform to. As the readings note, it was not clear whether newcomers would just naturally come to adopt 'the Australian way of life' or whether they should be forced to do so (and if so, how much compulsion should be applied and in what particular areas). The policy of multiculturalism, by contrast, means the official recognition and active support of ethnic and Aboriginal cultures without destroying the 'cohesiveness of Australian society' (R2:7).

You might wonder what that phrase about 'cohesiveness' actually means. Just where does cohesiveness lie (a single language, common beliefs, one passport)? And how do we, or can we, tell if Australian society is becoming more or less cohesive? Is it something we can measure? These questions about the basis of community and society will be taken up in Course HP03a, *Community and Control*.

SAQ 4 (p.13)

1. Presumably because what is broadly defined as 'religion' is where values which people consider fundamental are to be found. The religious texts used in different societies (the Bible, Koran, Upanishads) contain their own versions of the Ten Commandments and people find it hard to compromise or renounce customs which are dictated by those values. Where migrant groups hold to different religions, and where religion is important in social life, we can expect some of the conflicts mentioned in the APIC-AEAC report at p.2. Later on in the course (section 6.2) we will consider the social importance of religion among Greek Australians.

2. There might be more than one reason for each feature to constitute a problem. I have chosen the following 4:

   a. Australian law is public and its details must be available to anyone who wants to know them (so the secrecy of tribal laws would go right against this principle).

   b. In many instances, especially the most serious case mentioned by Kirby, law in Australia takes account of the intention to do wrong when calculating the appropriate punishment (some Aboriginal practices would contradict that).

   c. Australian and Aboriginal laws conflict in the degree of equal treatment of women.

   d. The type and degree of punishment in Australian and Aboriginal communities may be very different. Aborigines may punish offenders by direct physical violence, a practice no longer current in Western society.

You should look back quickly at the APIC-AEAC report (R2:4) to note some other difficulties of accommodating migrant groups' customs in Australian law.

SAQ 5 (p.14)

Problems of language and cultural background are reduced when an immigrant can consult an agency staffed by fellow members of the ethnic group. Since welfare agencies deal with problems to which social disapproval is often attached (e.g. unemployment, marriage difficulties, poverty, certain kinds of illness) and which people may be reluctant to acknowledge for that reason, reducing any obstacles to communication is particularly important if the agencies are to carry out their tasks efficiently.

SAQ 6 (p.15)

1. Two reasons are suggested in the APIC-AEAC report (R2:4-5,7). First, ethnic organisations may be unrepresentative of the communities they are supposed to serve, just as leaders may become unresponsive to followers in any organised group. Second, the very existence of ethnic organisations may polarise and entrench conflict among ethnic groups which might not otherwise have occurred.

2. Because cultures can only be maintained by some organisations taking on the tasks of asserting what the traditions are (to members and outsiders), passing them on to younger generations, making sure that recognised members of the group conform to standards and norms, and so on.

SAQ 7 (p.18)

1. The community defined by parentage (514,309) is approximately 4 times as large as the community defined by parentage plus language (125,439).

   In fact, if we follow the discriminations in criterion no. 5 on our list on p.17, we could ask some awkward questions about the category 'language'. Which of the 3 levels of knowledge of Italian did the 125,439 lay claim to? Is the Italian spoken by, say, migrants in north Queensland, containing many English words and constructions and incomprehensible in Italy itself, to be considered simply as a variant of the 'same' language? Where are the boundaries of any community defined on the basis of a single language to be drawn? We will return to some of these questions in the case study on cultural policy in Phase 3 of the programme. In the meantime, if you are interested

in such topics, the book by Michael Clyne mentioned in the Further Reading section (p. 72) might be useful.

2. Many factors might be directly or indirectly relevant, e.g. changes in government immigration policy admitting adult Italians; continuing concentration of Italian speakers in 'Italian' suburbs or communities where the language is in regular social and commercial use (as opposed to dispersal of second-generation Italians across cities and states); the presence at home of grandparents speaking only Italian, thereby encouraging the maintenance of Italian as the only means of communication between generations; patterns of intermarriage between Italians and non-Italians, leading to reinforcement or abandonment of the use of Italian in the home; the deliberate introduction of Italian into school curricula.

   You could probably add to this list, and also consider which factors are more important than others.

SAQ 8 (p.19)

The cultures, languages, economies, laws and skin colour of most ethnic groups (East and West European) are similar in many respects to those of White Anglo-Celt Australians: on all counts the Aboriginal population is strikingly different. And the history of relations between White Australians and the Aborigines includes invasion, conquest, legal discrimination, dispossession and extermination. This suggests that seeing Aborigines as just another group in a multicultural society is quite wrong.

SAQ 9 (p.21)

1. A legal definition is needed for two reasons. First, unless we have a definition of the Aboriginal population, we can't investigate the degree of need and of deprivation among Aborigines and compare it with that of other groups in Australian society (p.4). Second, if special laws assisting Aborigines are to be passed, then a definition of who counts as an Aborigine and is entitled to that assistance is required (p.2).

2. Because no one administering the laws on Aborigines could have an idea of the degree of Aboriginal 'blood' in any individual, the most obvious equation was used. The darker the skin = the more Aboriginal (p.1). And because lighter-skin Aborigines had the opportunity to 'pass' into white society and escape prejudice, degree of colour has also tended to match the degree of need (p.3).

Remember too that skin colour is probably the most visible and inescapable sign of social identity: we can change our houses, jobs, names, spouses, nationalities, religions, everyday languages, even our sex - but not our skin colour.

3. Rowley mentions the consequences of urbanisation for social mobility (= individual economic and social improvement): Aborigines moving to towns were able to escape from the restricted opportunities for employment, education and property ownership on missions and reservations. The movement to towns might have further consequences. Some Aborigines might lose contact with, or actively deny their traditions as they see the wider opportunities of white society and as they are made directly aware of prejudice against Aborigines. Yet in reaction to prejudice other Aborigines might make special efforts to retain their Aboriginal identity for collective protection. The specific consequences of urbanisation for an individual Aborigine or Aboriginal group depends to a considerable extent on the employment possibilities, social divisions and housing policy within different cities. (Courses HP02b, *Urban Australia*, and HP03a, *Community and Control*, take up these variations in detail.)

SAQ 10 (p.21)

1. a. because attempts to see Aborigines as a culture have led to gross simplification, picking out only what seems either barbaric, or aesthetically pleasing, and have encouraged a conservative picture of 'genuine', pre-contact Aboriginality from which all subsequent developments are seen as a degeneration.

   b. because the specific problems and identity of Aborigines are submerged in those of very different ethnic groups.

   c. because, although Aborigines may have political institutions equivalent to those of full nations, they do not meet the 3 requirements of international law.

2. The first requirement is the creation of a group of intellectuals (the Aboriginal equivalents of W.E. DuBois and Malcolm X - both prominent American Blacks) who can articulate 'a coherent body of thoughts and ideas' to provide 'an intellectual-religious mainspring for cohering'.

SAQ 11 (p.23)

1. Land Rights legislation is politically significant because the organisations which administer land rights (such as the NT Land Councils) can take political action on behalf of Aborigines and negotiate with whites on equal terms. The political autonomy which was destroyed alongside eviction from the land can thus be restored to Australian Aborigines - as it has been to some other Fourth World peoples.

2. Broadly, Tatz sees anthropologists as outsiders who are allowed to impose their view on what Aboriginal tradition is and who counts as an Aborigine, according to anthropological techniques and taxonomies - a negative contribution. Peterson sees anthropological and historical expertise as necessary for the reconstruction of Aboriginal rights to particular areas, which have been disrupted by forcible removal of Aborigines to missions and reserves - a positive contribution. Both Tatz and Peterson may have valid points since they emphasise different facets of the place for expertise in the Land Rights issue.

   Are there any ways of deciding whether the positive or negative aspects of anthropological involvement are more important?

SAQ 12 (p.24)

1. Goodale's 2 extra features are: first, individual assertions of Aboriginal identity will be made in specific contexts (when it is necessary, convenient or important to make them); second, to be valid, individual assertions must be accepted by other Aborigines.

2. Whether a particular individual's assertion of Aboriginal identity predated or followed the 1976 Act; use of Aboriginal language, names and stories; participation in ceremonies and Aboriginal organisations; statements by potential claimants (like April Bright).

SAQ 13 (p.27)

1. There are many possible examples from our own culture - attendance at church, for instance. Some people might go primarily for reasons of belief, some as a mark of social status, some to please their parents. You could probably add to this list without difficulty. Other cases worth considering might be: Anzac Day ceremonies, the annual Bathurst 500, graduation ceremonies.

2. Young Aborigines can only be made into men by adult Aborigines, through acceptance of their claim to a new identity by the group which they will join (one of Goodale's points about identity).

SAQ 14 (p.31)

1. False. They often do but not always.

2. False. Traditions can be in oral or written form (pp.1,6).

3. True. See Shils p.2.

4. True. See section 3 of Shils's reading.

5. False. See section 4, second paragraph, of Shils's reading.

6. False. Some traditions do (particularly the natural sciences), but most do not.

7. False.. A traditionalist is not just anyone who follows a tradition but someone who thinks that something should be done just because it is a tradition (see p.30 of the study guide).

SAQ 15 (p.33)

You will be giving your imagination some play here, perhaps with the help of a specific example (a stew?) in mind.

1. Just as some aspects of a tradition will change over time, so too may the specific ingredients or rules for preparation of a particular meal. A stew is still a stew even if you have added or subtracted curry powder or capsicum. So no two stews may be exactly alike but anyone could recognise them as belonging under the same heading, 'stew': this is a parallel to the outsider recognising the identity of a tradition.

2. Traditions have to be re-enacted by people: a recipe, too, needs human hands to follow the rules - it won't make itself. And just as there are wide variations in knowledge of the tradition among those who follow it, so there are widely different degrees of success and tastiness reached by cooks following an identical recipe. The proof of the pudding is in the eating, not in having used the same instructions!

SAQ 16 (p.34)

1. Bourdieu is saying roughly this: what we call 'taste' (i.e., the appreciation of cultural objects) is a matter of knowing the names associated with those objects rather than grasping their inherent quality. It is association with prestigious names (of radio networks, theatres, producers etc.) which tells us whether a cultural object is to be classified as 'legitimate' or not.

2. The objects of legitimate and middlebrow culture demand quite different attitudes. Understanding and admiration of the techniques and aesthetic principles underlying legitimate culture is thought to be quite proper: in middlebrow arts such knowledge is the preserve of only a few and not generally thought to be essential for any cultivated person.

3. In two important ways: first, by inclusion in or exclusion from school and university curricula; second, by the fact that while ignorance or error concerning legitimate culture is penalised ('negative sanctions') in some way, no penalties follow for ignorance or error in the field of middlebrow arts.

SAQ 17 (p.35)

1. The vagueness of most traditions; the inherent ambiguity of concepts used in thinking about society; the fact that most people do not, and cannot, know all the details of the traditions to which they profess allegiance.

2. Age is the criterion. Young Aborigines only acquire knowledge of their traditions gradually as they are 'grown up' by passage through the different ceremonies. In many cases, too, a further criterion for exercising control over tradition is gender: men rather than women have privileged knowledge of traditions.

SAQ 18 (p.36)

1. Stability: Writing something down tends to preserve it - even if it is temporarily forgotten, it can always be rediscovered. Also, the written record exists independently of individuals and can serve as a permanent reminder of what should be done ('the orthodoxy of the book': R16:1).

   Alteration: Writing allows people to examine what they or others have written down giving them space to criticise it and examine the argument for consistency (cf. Kuhn's multiple uses of the term 'paradigm'). It is also easier to criticise a book or text to some extent divorced from its author, than to criticise oral communications (the speaker's presence, particularly if he or she is a socially powerful figure, is likely to be inhibiting). So in some respects there may be as great an opportunity for alteration in written as in oral traditions.

2. Two points can be made about Tatz's suggestion, particularly his support for the development of a group of literate intellectuals (equivalents of W.E. DuBois and Malcolm X). First, the very fact of writing down

the tradition and ideology of Aboriginality may cause it to change and encourage criticism and dissent among Aborigines themselves - so it may not provide a focus of unity for cohering. Second, the growth of a literate intelligentsia may encourage the unequal division between literate and illiterate Aborigines (in the way Goody and Watt suggest) and again frustrate any immediate achievement of a single sense of Aboriginality. Tatz's idea may not be wrong: but it is interesting to review its possible unintended consequences in the light of Goody and Watt's more general remarks on the social effects of the development of literacy.

SAQ 19 (p.38)

1. Because it was thought that among backward non-literate strata (groups) the traces of deep mental processes which had vanished elsewhere could be found - their oral, anonymous tradition. Traditions might therefore provide clues to the early history of humanity and workings of the human mind.

2. Because it was assumed that these traditions and customs would necessarily vanish as society progressed: the best thing to do, therefore, was to get rid of them as quickly as possible and to speed up what was going to happen anyway.

SAQ 20 (p.38)

1. The natural sciences train students through textbooks, which give no space to disagreements, original research or to the history of how what is now known actually came to be known. The social sciences and humanities, by contrast, attach great importance to students' appreciation of different perspectives on society and the conflicts between them. Discussions in the most recent issues of professional journals are very quickly incorporated into reading lists and the curriculum; and students often undertake minor research projects as part of their training.

2. Liberal educational theory demands that students be taught how to identify problems and recognise that any solutions are likely to be partial and temporary. Clearly learning in the natural sciences - 'dogmatic initiation in a pre-established tradition' - goes against those principles.

SAQ 21 (p.39)

Accusing other societies of 'cannibalism' is to draw attention to the difference between their system of classification and ours. Cannibals are supposed not to be able to distinguish properly between the categories 'people' and 'food', so they cross or ignore a boundary which we regard as specially strong. (Any instance of plane-crash survivors eating their dead companions is made a public object of fascinated attention.) To ignore the people/food boundary would cause real problems in our classification. We allow ourselves to treat the animals classified as 'food' quite differently from the way we treat fellow human beings (and also those animals we humanise as 'pets' and would be horrified to eat), so that any move to consider other people as food would entail a real confusion of how we should treat one another. It would introduce a confusion at the very basis of the social order and co-existence. It is therefore not difficult to see how descriptions of 'primitive' societies, which hardly seemed orderly societies at all to the nineteenth century observers mentioned by Robert Brain, could easily accommodate accusations of 'cannibalism'. From the standpoint of Western writers the classificatory disorders of 'cannibalism' were just one instance from a set of incomprehensible and confused practices of the 'savages'.

> There is actually some doubt as to whether any of the numerous reports of cannibalism are accurate, since close study seems to reveal that they have all been based on hearsay, unreliable sources and imaginative reconstruction. Those of you with an interest in anthropophagy might like to follow up the controversy in W. Arens: *The Man-Eating Myth* (OUP 1979).

SAQ 22 (p.42)

The term or phrase can be picked out clearly: choices of institutions to illustrate each aspect will be very different. We might compare your lists in the next tutorial.

1. Familiar e.g. the family.

2. Organised e.g. Parliament.

3. Normatively sanctioned e.g. work. ('Repeated' and 'continuous' really occur in definition 1, 'regularised pattern' in 2. A 'normatively sanctioned pattern' for an activity is a pattern to which you are expected to conform on pain of criticism or punishment if you break the rules. Recall the discussion of Jean Martin's mention of a 'norm' on pp.13-14 of the study guide.)

4. Working of an associated set of concepts e.g. science.

5. Associative e.g. language.

6. Scene of conflicts. Here there are no special examples since Anderson suggests that conflict is one aspect of all institutions (he considers it the most important aspect for real understanding). Can you identify some of the conflicts within the institutions which I have given as examples of the other aspects?

SAQ 23 (p.43)

The following list contains some of the key terms required to grasp the notion of the 'museum'. You will probably have thought of others or phrased some of my distinctions in different ways.

Art: a fundamental concept. We have to have some notion of a qualitative difference between a painting by Rembrandt and a book cover (or advertising photograph) before we can understand why we house one in a museum and throw the other away. There must be a boundary between 'art' and 'non-art', though where the boundary lies is always controversial and changing. Remember the points made by Bourdieu in reading 14.

School, styles: paintings and objects have to be grouped together, classfied, in some fashion so that we can understand how they are related and how to find our way round a museum. ('Author', too, is a classificatory term, so that we can see the connections between the works produced by a single individual: 'that's a Rembrandt' is rather like 'that's a wallaby'. This point will be taken up in Course HP03b on 'authorship'. You will remember how Bourdieu suggests that we classify objects by attaching them to names - look at the answer to SAQ 16.)

Exemplar: a particularly good example, and a model for imitation, of a school or style of painting or type of artefact (Shils uses the term on p.2).

Social document: the idea that we can learn something about the past of our own or another society by looking at its pictures or artefacts.

Past vs the present: a museum is there to keep the past visible, so that what gets into the museum is classified as part of the past. If we didn't have such a clear distinction between the past and the present (one encouraged by the development of literacy and written records as Goody and Watt point out on p.3 of reading 15), then the institution of a museum would be hard to grasp. Many societies, including Aborigines, don't have such a clear distinction as ours.

Collective ownership: museums and art galleries are publicly funded. Also governments try (not always successfully) to keep paintings by their own citizens within their national museums. Behind this policy lies the idea that important works of art belong in some sense to the community and should be available for inspection by as many people as possible.

Other concepts - individual creativity, talent - could be added to this selection.

SAQ 24 (p.45)

My own identification of the 5 stages of Bourdieu's argument runs like this (I have included a reference to pages of his extract where a corresponding sentence can be found, which will help you to assess the first part of your task):

1. Museum attendance is very unequally distributed among the population: only the best-educated attend (p.1 and table 4).

2. What is needed to make attendance worthwhile is the knowledge of how to classify and understand pictures (p.4).

3. It is a major function of the educational system to implant in students the ability to decipher codes, classify objects and people (p.5).

4. The sum total of classifications (categories and vocabularies of perception) is what we call 'culture' (p.5).

5. The ability to make cultural distinctions gives social distinction to those who possess it (p.6).

SAQ 25 (p.48)

1. In negotiating with an ethnic group, the government has to negotiate with somebody. That somebody must be seen to be representative of the group, so new representative organisations have to be set up or existing ones given new areas of responsibility.

2. One major conflict might be over who or which faction within an ethnic community is to control the representative organisation and thus get the ear of government and the power to allocate the resources granted. Conflicts will also arise over what the real needs and priorities of the community are, and who the principal beneficiaries should be.

SAQ 26 (p.49)

1. The selection of what is to count as 'Italian culture' is made primarily by avoiding content seen as politically divisive or morally harmful for the Italian community. The attempt to remain 'neutral' and gloss over real distinctions between the cultures of dominant and dominated groups as well as distinctions based on region, politics, sex and age in fact produces a highly conservative version of 'Italian culture'.

2. Note the primary, though not exclusive, concern with poetry, verse-speaking, high art and ancient history. Here is an instance of Bourdieu's 'legitimate culture' and the social distinction attached to the grasp of certain cultural distinctions. Notice also the place given to cuisine (recipes), often closely associated with cultural difference.

SAQ 27 (p.50)

1. Divisions on the basis of: ethnicity; regional origin (Veneti versus Calabresi); age; gender; wealth (the variation in subscription fees is quite wide and is likely to exclude people).

2. Huber mentions 2 ways in which the distinction between Veneti and Calabresi is maintained. First, the Calebresi have a particular leader, Frisina, who organises them and keeps them as a group. Second, according to table 19 (p.4), members of the 2 groups tend either to marry within their own group (51 percent of marriages are between two Veneti; 23 percent between two Calabresi) or to marry Australians. Fewer than one marriage in ten involves partners from both groups.

3. In general Australians see the Italians as undifferentiated (see pp.6,9).

SAQ 28 (p.51)

1. The clubs in both communities share the aim of encouraging association, although the implicit or explicit boundaries of association in each case do not allow just anyone to join. The clearest similarity between Italian and Greek clubs is that both sets are very largely restricted to men. The differences (which can partly be attributed to the general contrast between Sydney and Griffith) are of two kinds. First, membership of Greek clubs depends primarily on age and wealth, whereas Italian clubs are distinguished by the regional origin of their members. Second, Greek clubs have more contacts with non-Greek organisations throughout Australia and with other Greek organisations overseas.

2. Schools transmit a particular view of Greece and Greek culture - *Ellenismos* (pp.16-17). Particularly relevant to Bourdieu's argument is the role of Greek schools, where attendance is voluntary, in transmitting a form of language close to *katharevousa* (the prestigious official language) which helps to distinguish those who know it from those who know only demotic Greek (section 4, p.17).

3. In both communities a Music Club has been set up with the aim of promoting contact with Australians. Presumably it's effective because music is a 'language', the understanding and appreciation of which transcend the barriers of ordinary language.

SAQ 29 (p.52)

1. One important reason is given by Bottomley at the foot of p.1. Because ethnic groups are very concerned to establish standards of right and proper conduct and to convince members of other groups that the standards are adhered to (p.2), they set up churches and religious organisations. As we noted in SAQ 4, religion is the place for the proclamation and defence of fundamental standards and values. It is common for fundamentalist churches to flourish among migrant groups in all parts of the world.

2. For Greek Australians the Church is specially significant because of: its close association with the achievement of independence by the Greek nation; its virtual restriction of membership to Greeks; its use of a different calendar; its organisation of social activities for Greeks and of the rites of passage to be discussed shortly.

SAQ 30 (p.55)

1. Collective rituals (such as Easter) and life-cycle rituals (also referred to as rites of passage).

2. Collective rituals celebrate the unity of a group by remembering past events (the War of Independence, the Crucifixion); rites of passage concern primarily individuals (baptism, chrismation, marriage).

SAQ 31 (p.55)

One major difference is that while the movement of nature is cyclical (summer comes round every year), individual human progress through the stages of life is linear and irreversible.

SAQ 32 (p.56)

1. First, salutes are only an extreme point on the continuum of greetings by hand (waves, handshakes), illustrating how rituals are often only a more rigidly rule-governed version of everyday actions. There may be no sharp breaks between rituals and ordinary events. Second, salutes 'say' things publicly about the relative rank of the participants: they show who is superior, who inferior, to outsiders. Those who ignore the correct order and detail of performance are likely to be punished. Because the armed forces depend on rank and hierarchy for their efficient working, not only are the displays of rank ritualised but their correct observance is essential. For other points, look back at reading 23.

2. Some examples of tripartite sequences are: period of engagement - wedding - honeymoon; matriculation - period of university study - graduation; crucifixion - death - resurrection.

SAQ 33 (p.57)

They make statements about the new status of an individual, acceptance by the community of the change and affirm the value of the Greek way of managing such changes. The rites of passage thus link individual careers with membership of the Greek national community. (Notice that 'career' here is being used in its sociological sense to indicate passages from a position or status to another. This is a broader usage than the everyday use of 'career' to refer only to an individual's change of job.)

SAQ 34 (p.58)

1. Brain argues for more elaborate ritual at marriage itself (p.164) and for the invention of new ritual forms to signal the passage from the 'married' to 'divorced' status. His arguments rest on a general view of rituals, that they serve as a crucial means of linking recognition by others of someone's new identity and recognition by the person himself of the reality of the new status. In other words, more elaborate rituals for marriage are needed so that spouses come to appreciate the significance of this new position and its attached rights and obligations. A ritual helps to bring home what the shift involves (or ought to involve, Brain implies). Rites help us to appreciate new rights.

   Likewise rituals for the passage from marriage to divorce are needed so that the status of a divorced person can be publicly acknowledged as a status in its own right, not just as an uncomfortable transitional stage between two marriages or between marriage and

death. New sets of expectations could be created - and since people who are divorced can't just return to their original unmarried status (in SAQ 31 we noted the irreversibility of social careers), new expectations are much needed.

2. Brain suggests two rather different connections between ritual and emotion. First, he asserts that rites may help to channel into socially acceptable and non-destructive ways the emotions that people feel on particular occasions - grief at a person's death (p.217), anxiety at the responsibilities of a new status (p.218) and so on. Rituals provide a context in which people can express their emotions. Second, Brain suggests that rituals can also create emotions. Through participation in rituals, people can come to feel emotions of respect, awe, loyalty, etc. which they would not otherwise feel. 'Grace gets us into the right mood for a communal meal' (p.217) is one small example of viewpoint. A more important example is the ritual of Anzac Day (p.226-7) which creates loyalty to the state: 'without national ceremonies, flags, anthems, uniforms, the state falls apart'.

SAQ 35 (p.59)

1. a. rites of separation of boys: hunting trip into bush, rifts between boys and their families for sleeping; separation from their names and being called 'wild dogs'; move to a very isolated place; no speech with families.

   b. rites of transition (when immoral or unsocial events occur): men's singing and dancing in unfamiliar ways; boys being harshly disciplined; appearance of warlocks; dramatic fights; no speech with women.

   c. rites of incorporation: decoration of bodies; presentation of food; symbolic repayments to men who had enabled the boys to be made into men.

2. In part because we have pinned too many unrealistic hopes to education and expect it to achieve too much; in part because Aboriginal youths have been expropriated from their languages, depriving them of a key instrument of oral and written education as well as provoking Aboriginal elders to deny them access to their own society.

   Look back quickly at one of the excerpts from Pierre Bourdieu (R18:2) where you will find an acknowledgement of the limitations of what education can do, with regard to the weight of family upbringing.

SAQ 36 (p.61)

The key paragraph for reworking is the last one. Carroll suggests that only rituals which address deep problems about human existence have any chance of serving as the mechanisms for generating a sense of identity. Only these profound questions take account of the yearnings and terrors which we all feel and which spur us into action.

> One question: do you find convincing Carroll's implication that all human beings experience the same set of fundamental hopes and fears, irrespective of social context?

SAQ 37 (p.62)

Empire Day is 'ambiguous' because although its official message proclaimed an Australia united behind support for Britain, its celebration was, in fact, being used to divide Australian society. It served as an occasion to produce the very conflict which its official message denied. In its later phase, after 1918, Empire Day was used, not so much to support Empire, but to attack communism and the extreme Left. (See the reading by Bessant, R29:2.)

SAQ 38 (p.63)

The AWAR group was attempting to alter the recipe for the celebration of Anzac Day in two ways. First, its presence in the march (rather than as a group of spectators) would be a novel ingredient. Second, AWAR wanted to broaden the meaning of the ritual from its focus on the Australians who paid the supreme sacrifice (in Sir William Keys's phrase) to a more general concern with the horrors of war. Here is a concrete example of how a recipe for the re-enactment of a tradition may change through variation in the types of participants and in the meanings proclaimed.

SAQ 39 (p.64)

Look back at the description of an Aboriginal initiation rite by Stanner (R26:3-5). You will see how far almost every part of the ceremony involves some form of spatial segregation of the participants - the use of the bush, separate sleeping arrangements, isolated places. Every small step towards a new social status is made visible by confining people to different parts of the camp or the countryside.

On a larger scale, think of the ways in which the space covered by cities such as Brisbane or Sydney is divided up into prestigious suburbs, Aboriginal fringe camps, industrial zones, ethnic areas, slums and so on. We attach social and economic significance to different areas so that

a roughly coherent picture of the total area covered by a city emerges: people know that some areas are 'good', others 'bad'. The social and spatial divisions within cities - how they emerged, what determines them - will be discussed in Course HP02b, *Urban Australia*. In Course HP03a, *Community and Control*, the particular transitional zone between city centre and countryside - suburbia - will be a focus of attention.

SAQ 40 (p.64)

The Melbourne Cup is attended and followed by people of all social classes (you might think about the quite different reasons for which those people attend the ritual, remembering SAQ 13). In some cases each competing unit (horse + jockey) is a mix of social class: the horses belong to the wealthy, while the jockeys are of working-class origin - a visible example of class collaboration potentially to the advantage of both sides! In other cases horses are owned and jockeys employed by a group of not especially well-off people - an illustration of the virtues and possible prizes of collective ownership and solidarity. The event seems to be full of images of desirable social collaboration. Presumably, too, the association of racing with gambling at which everyone, high or low, has a theoretically equal chance of winning adds a further dimension of unity to the Cup, which would not be present in sports not closely linked to betting.